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ABSTRACT

This qualitative report of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Girls' Education Activity (GEA) focuses on the results of project activities in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru. Section 1 outlines the overall purpose and goals of the GEA; contrasts the major tactics of the program in each country; and describes the fundamental multi-sectoral approach underlying all three country projects. Section 2 presents the design and the analytical framework used in the report. Sub-sections are included that make important distinctions about the nature of systemic change and describe a Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC) used to explain what is thought to be the importance of the achievements made by each GEA project in its respective geographical region. Section 3 describes, in three sub-sections, the major initiatives of each GEA country to improve girls' access to and retention in primary (elementary) schools and contains an analysis using the CFAC analytical tool, of the degree of systemic change achieved in each country's respective environment. Section 4 examines the efforts of the programs in all three countries and synthesizes their experience into a set of observations on success factors in implementing girls' education reform. (Contains 40 notes, 8 tables, and 10 figures.) (BT)

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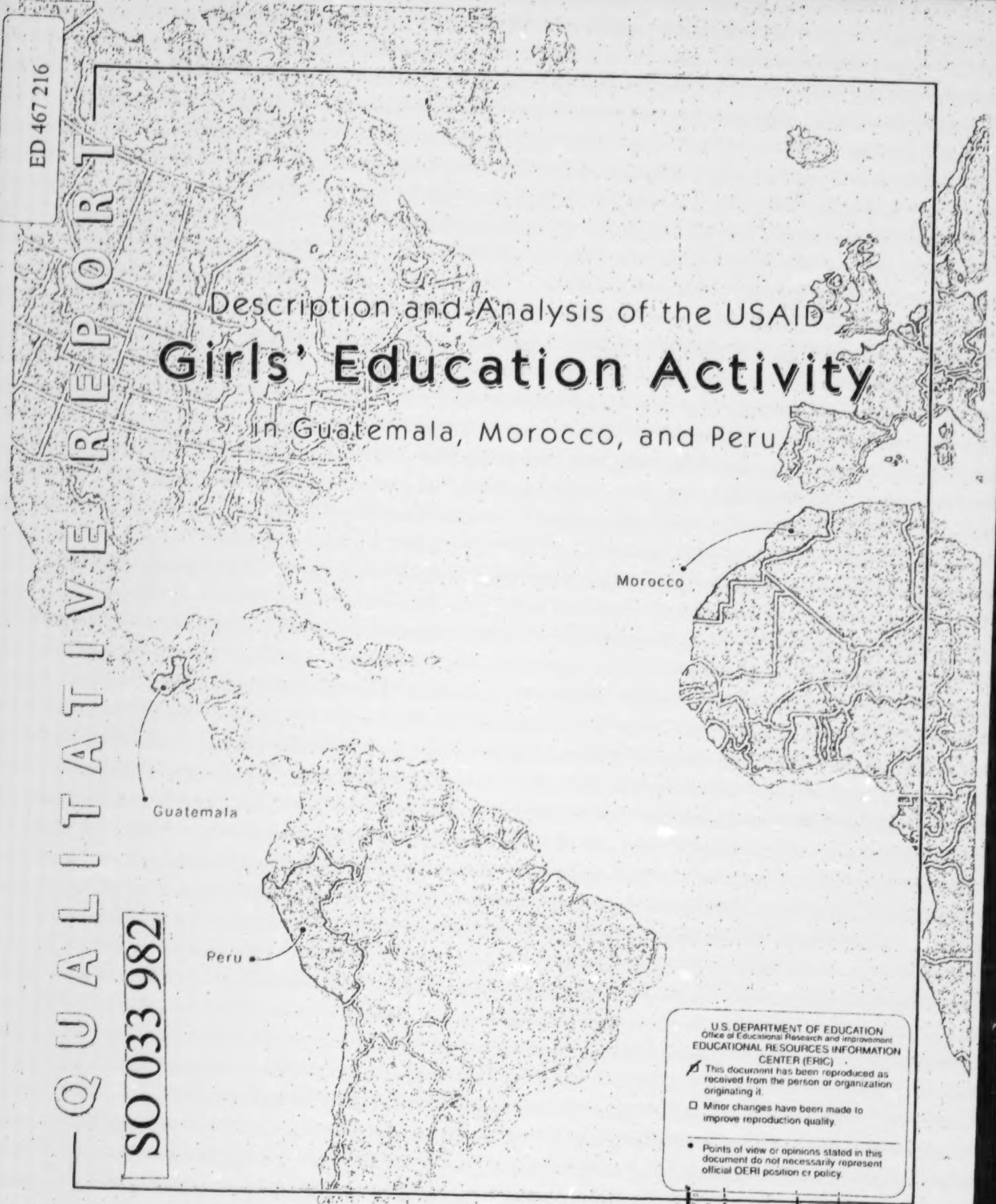
QUALITATIVE REPORT

Description and Analysis of the USAID
Girls' Education Activity
in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru



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in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru

March 2002

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List of Acronyms

ADESCO	Asociación para el Desarollo Comunitario, association for community development in Guatemala
ADFM	Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc, national women's democratic association in Morocco
AEN	Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña, national girls' education network in Guatemala
AGES	Asociación Guatemalteca de Educación Sexual, national association for the promotion of reproductive health in Guatemala
AIR	American Institutes for Research, prime contractor for the Girls' Education Activity
Al Jisr	Forum National de L'Action Associative, also called Al Jisr (the Bridge), sponsor of business-education partnerships in Morocco
AMRESAM	Association of Municipal Governments of the Department of San Martín, Peru
BEST	USAID's Basic Education Strengthening Project
CALEN	Local Girls' Education Committees created as part of the New Horizons Project in Ayacucho, Peru
CEPRODEP	Centro de Promoción y Desarrollo Poblacional, center for the promotion and development of the population, a local non-governmental organization in Peru
CARE	CARE, subcontractor in charge of Girls' Education Activity in Peru
CEDRO	Financial consulting firm in Guatemala
CGEM	Confederation Générale des Entreprises Marocaines, national confederation of enterprises in Morocco
CHIRAPAQ	Centro de Culturas Indias, center for indigenous cultures in Peru
CNCA	Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole, agricultural credit bank in Morocco

CNEM	Consejo National de Educación Maya, national advisory council on Mayan education in Guatemala
COMOL	Comunidad Mayas Alfabetizadas (Community of Literate Mayans), a local NGO in Guatemala
CONALFA	Comité Nacional de Alfabetización, national committee for literacy in Guatemala
CONFIEP	La Confederación Nacional de Instituciones Empresariales Privadas, national confederation of private business institutions in Peru
COSEF	Commission Spéciale pour l'Education et la Formation, special commission for education and training in Morocco
CSO	Civil society organizations
CSSF	Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles, girls' education support committee that directs the scholarship program in Morocco
CTA	Ministry of Education's Technical Administrative Coordinators in Guatemala
DDE	Dirección Departamental de Educación, governmental educational offices at the departmental level in Guatemala
DIGEBI	Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural, Ministry of Education's office of bilingual and intercultural education in Guatemala
EFA	Education for All, international initiative to ensure universal basic education
EIC	Equity in the Classroom, project operated by Creative Associates to help educators analyze and respond to equity issues in classrooms
EMIS	Educational Management and Information System
FUNDAZUCAR	Foundation of sugar producers in Guatemala
FUNRURAL	Coffee growers' association in Guatemala
GAEM	Grupo de Apoyo a la Educación de la Mujer, group for women's educational assistance in Guatemala

GEA	USAID's Girls' Education Activity; also the name of the project in Morocco
GPBM	Groupement Professionnel des Banques du Maroc, professional group of banks in Morocco
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation, government-owned corporation for international cooperation in Germany
EGAT	USAID Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade
IXMUCANE	Name of female Mayan god and women's rights group in El Quiché, Guatemala
IDF	Institutional Development Framework, method to assess strengths and issues within an organization and generate action plans for addressing issues
IPAZ	Instituto de Investigación y Promoción del Desarrollo y Paz, institute for the investigation and promotion of development and peace in Peru
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
MEG	Morocco Education for Girls, another USAID-sponsored project to support girls' education in Morocco
MNE	Ministry of National Education, name of governmental education entity in Morocco
MSI	Management Systems International, subcontractor in charge of Girls' Education Activity in Morocco
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ODEC	Oficina de Educación Católica, office of Catholic education in Peru
ODHAG	Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala, office of human rights of the Archdiocese of Guatemala
PAEBI	USAID-World Learning initiative Access to Intercultural Bilingual Education (AIBE) Program (or PAEBI in Spanish)
PASMI	Programa de Atención en Salud Mental Infantil, program on infant mental health

PLA	Participatory Learning Activity, an approach to working with communities and parents to identify and solve problems
PRONADE	Programa Nacional de Autogestión para el Desarrollo Educativo, national program for the management of educational self-development in Guatemala
SIMAC	El Sistema Nacional de Mejoramiento de los Recursos Humanos y Adecuación Curricular, national system for the improvement of human resources and the suitability of curriculum in Guatemala
SSO	USAID Strategic Support Objective
TA	Technical assistance
TADEPA	Taller de Promoción Andina, activity for the promotion of Andean people in Peru
TAREA	Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas, association of educational publications in Peru
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFP	United Nations Family Planning
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development, sponsor of GEA
WID	USAID Office of Women in Development

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Section I: Background on the Girls' Education Activity 3

The Multi-Sectoral Approach of the Girls' Education Activity 4

Section II: Report Design and Analysis Framework 9

The Nature of Policy and Systemic Change 9

Project Implementation Is Not Systemic Change 11

A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change 17

Section III: GEA Country Experience 27

Organization of This Section 27

Section III-A: Changing Girls' Education in Guatemala 29

The Guatemalan Educational Environment 29

Overview of the Guatemala Girls' Education Project 30

Conducting a Situational Assessment 33

Teacher Training and Classroom Methodologies 35

Community Work 39

Social Communication Materials 44

Scholarships 46

National Networks and Conferences 49

Analysis of Systemic Changes in Girls' Education in Guatemala 49

Section III-B: Changing Girls' Education in Morocco 57

The Moroccan Educational Environment Prior to GEA 57

Overview of the Morocco Girls' Education Activity 59

Key Sectors of Intervention and Stakeholders 64

Major GEA Activities 65

Analysis of Systemic Changes in Girls' Education in Morocco 85

Section III-C: Changing Girls' Education in Peru **95**
The Peruvian Educational Environment Prior to GEA 95
Overview of the Peruvian Girls' Education Project 96
Creating a National Network for Girls' Education in Peru 100
Facilitating National Activities 103
Working at the Regional and Local Levels 115
Analysis of Systemic Changes in Girls' Education in Peru 130

Section IV: Systemic Change for Girls' Education in GEA Countries **145**
Systemic Change for Girls' Education in GEA Countries 145
Factors That Effected Systemic Change in GEA Countries 153

List of Tables

Table 1.–Overview of GEA Activities 5

Table 2.–A Continuum of Implementation Task Functions 14

Table 3.–Inter-Related Achievements on the National, Regional, and Local Levels 28

Table 4.–Guatemala GEA Project Time Line 31

Table 5.–Profile of Communities Where Proyecto Global Accomplished the Most Community Work 42

Table 6.–Morocco GEA Project Time Line 62

Table 7.–Percent of Peruvians Between the Ages of 15 and 24 Who Did Not Complete Primary School, 1997 95

Table 8.–Chronology of Major Activities Associated With the New Horizons Project and Girls' Education in Peru 98

List of Figures

Figure1.—Sustainable Systemic and Organizational Change 19

Figure 2.— Organizational and Activity Map of the Morocco Girls' Education Activity 61

Figure 3.—Objectives, Means, and Activities 77

Figure 4.—Organizational and Activity Map of the New Horizons for Girls' Education Project 97

Figure 5.—Path of Constituency-Building for Girls' Education in Peru 133

Figure 6.—CFAC: Continuum of Incremental Change Leading to New Systems of Behavior 146

Figure 7.—CFAC Diagram for Guatemala 148

Figure 8.— CFAC Diagram for Morocco 150

Figure 9.— CFAC Diagram for Peru 152

Figure 10.—Force Field Analysis of Conditions for Girls' Education Reform in Morocco, Circa 1996 154

Introduction

This qualitative report of the USAID Girls' Education Activity (GEA)[1] focuses on the results of project activities in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru.

Section I outlines the overall purpose and goals of the GEA, contrasts the major tactics of the program in each country, and describes the fundamental multi-sectoral approach underlying all three country projects.

Section II presents the design and the analytical framework used in this report. Also included are subsections that make important distinctions about the nature of systemic change and that describe a Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC), which is used in this report to explain what we think is the importance of the achievements made by each GEA project in its respective geographical region.

Section III describes, in three sub-sections, the major initiatives of each GEA country to improve girls' access to and retention in primary schools and contains an analysis, using the CFAC analytical tool, of the degree of systemic change achieved in each country's respective environment.

Section IV examines the efforts of the programs in all three countries and synthesizes their experience into a set of observations on success factors in implementing girls' education reform. This information is meant to inform future USAID activities and strategies in support of girls' education.

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[1] The Girls' and Women's Education Activity is the official name of this project funded by USAID's Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Women in Development (EGAT/WID). The acronym GEA is used in this report to reflect actions and decisions specific to EGAT/WID. Within each country, a different project name was used, reflecting the program's unique history and adaptation to the local environment. When discussing the specific country programs we have respected the local project title: the Guatemala project was called Proyecto Global (The Global Project), Morocco's was called the Girls' Education Activity, and Peru's was called New Horizons for Girls' Education. We use the acronym GEA for both the Moroccan program and for elements common to all three programs. The context will differentiate the uses.

Section I: Background on the Girls' Education Activity

In 1996, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) began the Girls' Education Activity (GEA) to assist host country governments and private sector and non-governmental entities in formulating, institutionalizing, and implementing country initiatives for girls' education. These initiatives have been designed to ensure substantially increased educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level.

The purposes of this contract were

1. To enable USAID Missions to develop, put in place, and manage programs to support host country efforts to increase educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level, and
2. To institutionalize within USAID the capacity to plan, support, and facilitate sustainable government and private sector/non-governmental organization efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level.

This activity directly supports the USAID Office of Women in Development (EGAT/WID) Strategic Support Objective (SSO) #2: *Broad-based, informed constituencies mobilized to improve girls' education in emphasis countries.*

One of GEA's guiding principles has been to serve as a catalyst for local action and innovation. Over the past five years, GEA has accomplished this goal through a series of intermediate results established by USAID for this project. Specifically, GEA interventions in target countries have

- Strengthened the performance of public and private sector institutions to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.1);
- Improved knowledge to implement policies, strategies, and programs for girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.2);
- Mobilized leadership to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.3);

- Broadened local community participation to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.4); and
- Strengthened teacher performance to improve girls' primary school participation (EGAT/WID IR 2.5).

It is not our intention in this analytical report to compare GEA's success in achieving systemic change among the three participating countries. The descriptions in Section III of the environments and project development in each country bear out that the socio-political situations of the three countries had little in common. As would be expected, projects in each country evolved in different ways in different socio-political and economic environments. In fact, each respective country staff designed and implemented different strategies and tactics for achieving the GEA intermediate results, which coincided with and were in response to variations in the availability of local resources and support infrastructures. Table 1 lists these different tactics, grouped by the types of interventions implemented in each of the three subject countries. These tactics will be described in detail in Section III of this report.

THE MULTI-SECTORAL APPROACH OF THE GIRLS' EDUCATION ACTIVITY[2]

Many gains have been made in the past four decades in expanding access to quality education for girls and boys. However, the need for more children to obtain and complete education is just as critical today as it ever has been, especially for girls. Although worldwide primary enrollment rates for girls have increased 50 percent since 1960, 130 million school-age children around the world still are not in school, and 56 percent of these are girls. And although girls' enrollments increased in 29 countries between 1985 and 1995, simultaneous *decreases* occurred in 17 other countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.[3] The ability of governments to continue to improve educational access and quality while keeping pace with population growth and rising social expectations—and especially their ability to reach populations not well served by conventional programs (such as girls)—has been questioned by numerous studies and by many governments themselves. Perhaps in recognition of their limitations, governments are increasingly open to forming partnerships with other "non-traditional" sectors, such as civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the business community, the media, and religious organizations, as they try to cope with their mandate of educating all girls and boys.

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[2] Williams, H. (2001). *Case studies in multi-sectoral strategies for advancing girls' education.* Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.

[3] Anderson, J. B. (1999). Remarks of the USAID Administrator at the USAID EGAT/WID Symposium on Girls' Education. In *Symposium on Girls' Education: Evidence, issues, actions.* Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.

Table 1.–Overview of GEA Activities

Level	Interventions	Guatemala	Morocco	Peru
National / Regional	Assessments, studies, and publications	· Performing a situational assessment · Evaluating government-funded scholarship programs	· Performing a situational assessment (Status of Girls' Education) · Preparing constituency inventories · Writing articles and reports	· Performing a situational assessment · Preparing informational reports, bulletins, and video · Developing rapid rural appraisal and baseline studies
	Creation of new support structures and networks		· Organizing media task force · Creating a high-level Girls' Education Support Committee · Facilitating the creation of NGO girls' education networks	· Supporting the creation of girls' education networks
	Media, conferences, and public relations	· Conducting highly visible national forums and conferences · Sending a delegation to the International Girls' Education Conference	· Caftan show · Conducting many highly visible national forums and conferences · Sending a delegation to the International Girls' Education Conference	· Conducting many highly visible national forums and conferences · Conducting public relations and media campaigns · Sending a delegation to the International Girls' Education Conference · Conducting sensitization campaigns
	NGO support and technical assistance	· Providing technical assistance to national NGOs	· Providing technical assistance to national NGOs	· Conducting regional strategic planning · Conducting regional technical assistance workshops
Local Community	Training	· Organizing teacher training	· Developing rapid appraisal techniques for NGOs · Planning and evaluating projects	· Organizing teacher training
	Community organizing, participation promotion, and networking	· Broadening participation in 15 communities · Developing a community participation manual · Producing bilingual radio spots	· Providing technical assistance to local NGOs through national intermediaries	· Forming girls' education committees · Advertising local workshops · Establishing registration campaigns for dropouts
	School access improvement projects		· Developing Girls' Scholarship Program · Facilitating school infrastructure improvement projects	· Designing and promoting projects in communities
	Training	· Training teachers · Advancing bilingual teaching methods and materials		· Training teacher in bilingual education · Offering self-esteem training for girls

In response to these circumstances, USAID's Office of Women in Development (EGAT/WID) implemented a multi-sectoral approach to support girls' education in multiple countries in Latin America and Africa. GEA developed long-term projects in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru. The EGAT/WID approach focused on *building cross-sectoral partnerships to generate local resources* and *delivering social and technical programs that support increased girls' enrollments, retention, and completion.* A driving rationale behind this approach is that sustainable improvements in girls' enrollment and completion rates will likely come from support programs that are locally developed and rely primarily on local resources. EGAT/WID expects that such programs will be more sustainable because they will be more culturally appropriate and thus have broader local ownership.

A driving rationale behind [GEA's multi-sectoral] approach is that sustainable improvements in girls' enrollment and completion rates will likely come from support programs that are locally developed and rely primarily on local resources. EGAT/WID expects that such programs will be more sustainable because they will be more culturally appropriate and thus have broader local ownership.

The premises of the multi-sectoral approach to supporting girls' education are based in numerous studies and experiences in improving education for girls and boys. These premises can be categorized into three groups:

1. First, barriers to quality education affect girls more than boys in many settings in that girls are less likely to attend school and complete their basic education than are boys. Many of these barriers are outside government education sector resources, expertise, or even mandates to overcome. To effect lasting changes in these barriers requires getting other organizations and sectors of society to "own" the problem and adopt changes in their policies, culture, and practices.
2. Second, the formation of partnerships requires that governments be willing to reach out to other sectors for support—and that other sectors have the capacity and willingness to contribute to girls' education. This approach represents a significant shift in government policy as well as a transformation of the government and non-government sectors' perception of their mission and mandate.
3. Finally, the third group of approaches is designed to enable the mobilization of sectors that traditionally have not been charged with supporting education. These non-traditional sectors can generate local resources and programs to support girls' education in partnership with government.

The principles that underlie this approach are described in this report and summarized here:

- **Apply a multi-sectoral approach that recognizes the importance of traditional and non-traditional partners in changing both the demand for and supply of girls' education.** This

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principle has been accepted by the GEA staff and validated by the governments through their acceptance of the project approach and their participation in the multi-sectoral activities at several levels. In addition, non-traditional partners have accepted new working relationships with government and other sectors, and all partners have demonstrated strengths to support girls' education.

- **Use locally designed solutions and programs.** The project has supported technical and organizational processes for needs assessment, stakeholder consultation, policy and organizational change, and action planning among national, local, and specialty groups. Acceptance and implementation of the plans by local groups and their dedication of resources to accomplish them establish the validity of this approach. GEA provided resources and technical support for agenda-setting conferences for central- and local-level stakeholders across sectors, strategy development for new task forces and alliances, action planning with multi-sectoral partnerships at the central and local levels, and administrative planning of national scholarship and support funds.
- **Locally designed programs need to use a multi-method approach.** The GEA strategy supported the development of partnerships across sectors and linkages and between national or central and local entities. Each sector and partnership has distinct strengths and challenges to its ability to implement girls' education support programs over time, as do national and local entities. Consequently, the program worked with several sectors and multi-sectoral partnerships. The data collection, program designs, and action plans also vary for each set of actors.
- **Local human, financial, and physical resources need to be developed to support girls' education.** The EGAT/WID multi-sectoral approach is based on the conclusion that many barriers to quality education that affect girls disproportionately are beyond the ability of government education sector resources to overcome, and thus non-traditional sectors must be mobilized to generate local resources and programs in partnership with government. However, the viability of this approach and the sustainability of multi-sectoral partnerships and programs depend on the ability of these sectors to mobilize resources to support girls' education. In all three countries, the local resources generated and applied over time have included human and physical resources and, increasingly, financial resources.
- **Capacity building (leadership, technical programming, and operational support) needs to be developed and supported for local institutions in their new roles of supporting girls' education.** The multi-sectoral approach to supporting girls' education has involved non-traditional partners and has supported the creation of new alliances and partnerships

involving multiple sectors. Many actors, therefore, have had to learn new information, adjust attitudes about what can and should be done for girls and schools, and understand what it means to work with new colleagues from other sectors. Capacity building has been a prominent feature of all three GEA countries and is a necessary precursor to extending and sustaining the achievements that have been made.

- **All stakeholders need to be engaged in support of girls' education to "democratize" civic, social, and economic opportunities of girls in each country and community.** Dialogues at the national and local levels and cross-sectoral partnerships that include government, such as those that have taken place in all three GEA countries, are consistent with democratic initiatives that seek to make decision making, finance, and administration more inclusive and transparent to all stakeholders. These dimensions have been preconditions for the agenda-setting and joint actions that actors across sectors have taken on behalf of girls' education. The GEA Morocco and Peru experiences have demonstrated support by the national leadership, including elected and appointed officials, as well as the engagement of local community stakeholders. In addition, the GEA experiences in all three countries have demonstrated how democratizing support can lead to effective actions in particular communities that would not have occurred to people from outside the communities. Media have played a role in all three countries to achieve raised awareness and expectations for educating girls. To varying degrees in each country, the government has rearticulated its responsibilities and has opened up to new relationships with CSOs, NGOs, the private sector, religious organizations, and the media.

These principles of the EGAT/WID model for mobilizing and activating multiple sectors to generate local resources and develop and deliver social and technical programs to overcome context-specific barriers to girls' educational success have been validated in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru. Although the configurations of sectors and actors and activities and results are distinct from one country to the next, this approach has helped transform girls' education from a marginal issue with little traditional support to a priority issue for a wide range of local stakeholders acting in partnership.

Section II: Report Design and Analysis Framework

The information presented in this report is based on five years of accumulated knowledge about girls' education in GEA countries, which has been presented in monthly, quarterly, and annual reports to USAID; project designs and descriptions; and a *Start-up Handbook for Girls' Education Activities.* GEA Country Coordinators and their staffs created most of this information. GEA Country Coordinators were Angela Leal, Guatemala; Najat Yamouri, Morocco; and Ana María Robles and later Johanna Mendoza, Peru.

This analytic report is based on these documents, supplemented by in-country interviews conducted over several trips by U.S.-based project staff between January and July 2001. Interviews were conducted by Johan De Wilde, CARE-U.S.A.; Cristina Elias, American Institutes for Research (AIR); Marina Fanning, Management Systems International (MSI); Cory Heyman, AIR; Roberto Mugnani, World Learning; and Stephen Provasnik, AIR. Among those people interviewed were in-country project staff, business leaders, government officials (national, regional, and local), non-profit organizational leaders, religious leaders, community members, school principals, teachers, parents, and school-age girls.

Between 50 and 75 respondents were interviewed in each country. Participation did not pose a problem. Respondents were generous with their time and knowledge. A protocol that included a set of guidelines and topics for discussion was developed to govern the conduct of these interviews. Most interviews were conducted in Spanish or French, as appropriate, and translators were used when needed for monolingual speakers of indigenous languages.

THE NATURE OF POLICY AND SYSTEMIC CHANGE

As explained in Section I, the GEA multi-sectoral approach is a means to engage new relationships and stimulate local action and support for girls' education that will be sustainable long after the project has withdrawn. Each GEA project was essentially charged with finding ways to stimulate changes in the socio-political environment—be it at the national or local level—that would engender new and sustainable ways of supporting girls' education. GEA's challenge was not to act directly to increase *"educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level"* but to affect the formation of *"broad-based, informed constituencies mobilized to improve girls' education in emphasis countries."* In this way GEA was not a typical development project designed to have a direct impact on beneficiaries: rather, it was intended to effect change in national and local systems such that new and sustainable ways of supporting girls' education came into being. GEA's role in each country was to serve not as an agent of change directly but rather as a catalyst for change.

For this reason, this report's description and analysis of GEA's contributions focus on the means and the results of each country's programs that stimulated changes in local policies and systems instead of focusing narrowly on improvements in girls' educational access and retention *per se*. By "policy" we mean the "change agenda" envisioned in the desired reform. A policy will typically include mandates, laws, and procedures (both formal and informal). Implementing a policy, or a change agenda, requires putting into place a complex set of informal relationships, agreements, and divisions of responsibilities needed to maintain social programs and order. Sustainable policy change leads to changes in socio-political systems (henceforth "systemic change"), which translates into accrued social or economic public good. Few of GEA's contributions could be appreciated as the success they were without looking at them in relation to policy implementation and systemic change.

By "policy" we mean the "change agenda" envisioned in the desired reform. A policy will typically include mandates, laws, and procedures (both formal and informal). Implementing a policy, or a change agenda, requires putting into place a complex set of relationships, agreements, and divisions of responsibilities needed to maintain social programs and order.

Although sustainability can be said to be a characteristic of systemic change, sustainability cannot be assumed to come with policy change. Policy change and sustainability must go hand in hand to achieve systemic change. In GEA's multi-sectoral approach, sustainability underlies the change process. GEA's principles for this approach provide three examples:

1. An effective constituency to support systemic change must be built up to sustain and continue new activities once the external stimulus (development project) ends. GEA's technical approach indicated that effective constituencies for girls' education would need to be multi-sectoral in nature and dependent on local resources.
2. The constituencies themselves must be charged with directing and managing the change process; the direction of the process cannot be imposed from outside if the change is to be sustainable. GEA's role of serving as a facilitator for change was consistent with this practice.
3. Sufficient human enthusiasm and technical capacity must be built up within new and existing organizational and institutional structures to ensure that the momentum for

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> sustaining the change is adequate. There is no way that all barriers to girls' education will be overcome in a few years. Systemic change—the implementation of a new policy and organizational environment—can be a 20-year process. Although substantial change can be made in the first years of reform, the resulting systems need to include mechanisms for maintaining the pressure for follow-through in the change process. Key stakeholders need to develop skills in monitoring, advocacy, and project implementation.

To analyze the success of GEA initiatives from the perspective of systemic change, this analytical report uses an analytical tool created by Management Systems International (MSI) for its Implementing Policy Change (IPC) project.[4] We have adapted and used this tool as a Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC) to examine the particular systemic changes achieved in each GEA country environment relative to EGAT/WID's SSO #2 of *Broad-based, informed constituencies mobilized to improve girls' education in emphasis countries.*

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION IS NOT SYSTEMIC CHANGE[5]

The analysis of GEA's respective country accomplishments distinguishes between actions that effected change in the organizational and socio-political environment and actions that were discrete initiatives designed to address barriers to girls' access and retention at the grassroots level. This distinction recognizes that not all actions occur at a level that can effect systemic change. This distinction does not deny that actions and interventions in practice are often inter-related. For instance, sensitization campaigns designed to increase national-level dialogue (i.e., to affect the socio-political environment) may also motivate local actors to initiate new actions in their communities (i.e., undertake a discrete initiative). The value of this distinction is that it focuses analytical attention on GEA's significant contributions to meaningful changes in the organizational and socio-political environments of Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru. In short, it allows the observer to recognize the fundamental differences between systemic change and project implementation and to focus on actions that effect systemic change.

It may be tempting to equate the policy and systemic change process with more familiar project or program implementation processes. However, *policies are neither projects nor programs.* Indeed, the relative inattention to the "how to" of systemic change may reflect a lack of appreciation of this distinction and the difficulties that this inattention presents for reformers and managers. Some important features of the change process clearly distinguish it from either project or program implementation. These features combine to make socio-political reform both more complex and difficult, challenging even the most experienced public managers. The most important differences follow:

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[4] IPC was a 10-year effort led by MSI and funded by USAID's Global Bureau Democracy and Governance Center to understand and identify tools and techniques for improving systemic change and managing the policy implementation process. See *http://ipc.msi-inc.com.*

[5] Adapted from Crosby, B. (2000). *Managing policy reform: The implementation task framework* (IPC Technical Note #12). Washington, DC: MSI.

- **Systemic change is not a linear, coherent process.** Programs and projects have beginnings, middles, and ends; there are specific time lines; targets and objectives are generally specified for each phase; and plans and actions are defined to reach those targets. But policy implementation is often multidirectional, fragmented, frequently interrupted, unpredictable, and very long-term. How to sequence actions, what to pay attention to, and whom to include can be hard to determine and can vary substantially over the life of the policy change process. Although systemic change implementation has few hard rules, a sequence of specific implementation tasks, described below, can greatly inform the work of reformers.
- **No single agency can effectively manage the change process alone.** Projects and programs have project managers or chiefs or program heads. Whether they are part of larger agencies or independent, people usually know who is in charge. But in most cases, policy implementation requires the concerted actions of multiple agencies and groups. In reality, authority and responsibility are dispersed among the actors involved, which means that traditional command-and-control management is rarely applicable—such that even if there is nominally a lead agency, in reality no individual entity is in charge. The GEA's multi-sectoral approach is specifically adapted to this implementation challenge. Rather than act through a position of authority, the approach seeks to convince the major players to agree on a common agenda and then coordinate their own activities to increase the cumulative impact on the environment.
- **Policy implementation often benefits some at the expense of others.** Projects and programs provide benefits to those they affect. When systems change, new groups become beneficiaries, but groups that gained under the previous policy often begin to suffer losses or be placed at a serious disadvantage. Complicating the change process is the powerful position of the former beneficiaries, who are usually much more able to defend their interests and oppose and resist change than those who stand to gain. In the case of girls' education, resistance can be very subtle and may even be hidden. Expanding the group of stakeholders as broadly as possible beyond the usual sectoral and institutional divisions is key to diffusing this confrontational dynamic.
- **New policies generally do not come with budgets.** Programs and projects have budgets. Were it otherwise, they would not exist. Policies, however, rarely have more than the prom-

> ise of resources, particularly at the start of the reform process. Making progress means lobbying for new funds, identifying existing sources of implementation support, and negotiating for resource reallocation. All these efforts are subject to the vagaries of the budget process and shifting political winds. Acquiring a single major source of funding—in or out of government—for girls' education reform is not even an option in the fiscal and political context of Guatemala, Morocco, or Peru. Resources do exist, but in small and diffuse pockets throughout the societies. As noted in the rationale for GEA's multi-sectoral approach, locating and pulling together sufficient resources are essential to implement this kind of systemic reform.

Implementing systemic change is much like an assembly process. It is a process of putting together pieces from different sources, each with objectives rather different from those originally intended, and then reshaping those pieces into a mechanism capable of producing the results intended. Resources required to implement the policy may be under the control of others—with as much or more authority than the policy implementation manager—and worse, these other parties may be uninterested in or even opposed to the change.

> Implementing systemic change is much like an assembly process-it is a process of putting together pieces from different sources, each with objectives rather different from those originally intended, and then reshaping those pieces into a mechanism capable of producing the results intended.

Change managers and implementers are rarely in charge in the normal sense of the phrase. Instead, they are better characterized as facilitators, brokers, or coordinators: Changes in priorities and objectives need to be facilitated, differences of opinion between equally interested or affected stakeholders must be brokered, and actions to accomplish the new objectives need to be coordinated. This description effectively summarizes the roles played—often behind the scenes—by the GEA Country Coordinators and their staffs.

Systemic Change as a Set of Tasks

The literature on policy implementation deals mostly with issues related to the content of the policy, its political support, or compliance. It has little to say, however, about *how* to implement systemic change. The literature on project and program implementation is more helpful. Brinkerhoff, in *Improving Development Program Performance*,[6] suggests a model that places project and program implementation along a continuum of component managerial tasks, distinguishing between project tasks, which are largely operational (internal administration, employee supervision, input monitor-

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[6] Brinkerhoff, D. (1991). *Improving development program performance.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

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ing, technical production), and program tasks, which are more strategic in nature (long-term planning, developing strong organizational culture, managing organization interdependencies). Although Brinkerhoff does not specifically deal with policy implementation, it actually appears to be another dimension of that continuum. Table 2 modifies Brinkerhoff's framework and visualizes policy implementation as the third dimension of the continuum and includes the following tasks: *Policy Legitimization, Constituency Building, Resource Mobilization, Organizational Design and Modification, Mobilization of Action,* and *Impact Monitoring.*

Unlike either program or project implementation, all policy implementation tasks are strategic in nature. Each may be viewed as a requisite first step for either program or project implementation. In both program and project implementation, a pre-existing policy is at least implied. It is from that policy that the project or program is derived. Projects and programs assume that the underlying policy is considered legitimate, that a constituency that wants and supports the policy exists, and that resources have already been assigned. Without that minimum base, implementing the project or program would be impossible. Because all these elements have to be won in systemic change, a careful examination of the tasks involved in the change process is in order.

What Makes Stimulating Systemic Change Difficult?

Several specific characteristics of systemic change make the process difficult and present major implications for implementation. First, the **stimulus for systemic change** has more often than not come from outside, such as intractable economic crises that have forced governments to seek external financial assistance. In exchange for assistance or loans, donor agencies or international financial institutions often require substantial changes in the economic policy framework or, increasingly, in other policy

Table 2.-A Continuum of Implementation Task Functions

Policy Implementation	**Program Implementation**	**Project Implementation**
(Emphasis on strategic tasks)	⟷	(Emphasis on operating tasks)
• Policy Legitimization • Constituency Building • Resource Mobilization • Organizational Design and Modification • Mobilization of Action • Impact Monitoring	• Program Design • Capacity Building for Implementers • Collaboration with Multiple Groups and Organizations • Expansion of Resources and Support • Proactive Leadership	• Clear Objectives • Defined Roles and Responsibilities • Plans/Schedules • Rewards and Sanctions • Feedback/Adaptation Mechanisms

areas such as governance and the provision of public services. These changes frequently represent dramatic departures from the country's normal policies and practices. The negotiation of these reforms may take place among a narrow set of actors with conditions agreed to reluctantly, which raises questions of ownership and the consequent need to generate real demand for the changes proposed.

In the case of girls' education, most advocates for reform are dispersed in the political environment and often sit outside the formal education system. To exert adequate pressure for reform, they are faced with the double challenge of organizing effective coalitions of supporters while working to generate increased demand for educational reform within the general population.

Second, **systemic change decisions are highly political.** Policy change is politics; it addresses fundamental questions of what is to be done, how it is to be done, and how resources and benefits are to be distributed. When change occurs, relationships at various levels and between stakeholders will inevitably shift. Newer groups may gain rewards and opportunities at the expense of former beneficiaries—former beneficiaries, however, may be deeply entrenched and are often in a position to exercise strong and effective opposition.

Girls' education reformers typically have had a difficult time addressing former beneficiaries because they are often hidden but are still able to exercise considerable resistance. The pro-equity policies may not even be considered legitimate by certain powerful constituencies. Implementing girls' education policy is complicated by cultural and religious arguments that are raised in the political process.

In the case of **Morocco**, a new reform-minded government came into power in 1998, soon after the start of GEA. This created an opportunity to put in place a momentous policy statement on the reform of the education sector (the National Charter for Educational Reform , or *La Charte Nationale pour l'Education*). To its credit, the government of Morocco would be first to admit its limitations in implementing these same reforms. In fact, some of these implementation issues are mentioned in the Charter.

In contrast to a relatively favorable political environment in Morocco, the socio-political situation in **Guatemala** proved to be significantly different. The inception of GEA followed the Peace Accords ending 36 years of civil conflict. Beyond low levels of political trust and cohesion, tremendous obstacles to education in war-ravaged areas still exist. Addressing reform in education also means dealing with limited household and family resources; the lack of schools in many rural areas; the lack of any public transportation in remote regions; and traditional socio-cultural beliefs, values, and practices that regard an education for girls as a waste of time and money.

Meanwhile, the political situation in **Peru** was mixed. Although the national government was a full partner in GEA activities, the political upheaval brought about by the abrupt resignation of President Fujimori in 2000 slowed some of the momentum for national legal change on behalf of girls' education.

Powerfully entrenched resistance to change, such as inertia within public institutions, helps explain why it is often so difficult to get policy change processes moving toward effective implementation.

The process of systemic change, however, need not always result in conflicts between newer and older beneficiaries. For instance, when indigenous girls in rural areas are able to complete primary education, entire communities benefit. Girls become more informed citizens as well as more productive and knowledgeable workers, families have fewer premature pregnancies, and communities incur fewer social and economic strains. One of the most important tasks for partnerships that facilitate change processes is to communicate to the broader constituent population how the benefits of change will outweigh the costs—at all levels. This can be accomplished by including a broader group of stakeholders in the earliest stages of the planning process and by launching an effective social marketing campaign.

Third, although politicians have the lead role in initiating systemic change, **technocrats carry out the formulation of policy change.** Unfortunately, technocrats generally operate under different decisional criteria than either the political or administrative leadership. Whereas politicians take care to balance their constituencies, technocrats are concerned with maximizing output and rationalizing scarce resources. Political trade-offs are generally not factors in the technocrats' policy formulation equation. Getting technocrats to think about conflicts with former beneficiaries, opposition, and the implications of their actions on the next election is not a simple matter. Where resources are limited, as is typically the case in educational reform, budget limitations feed resistance to policy implementation. Even when resources are available from external sources, many technocrats will resist working in new ways that might disturb the traditional hierarchy of power in a Ministry of Education.

Fourth, **reform-minded decision makers are frequently new to government** and are unfamiliar with the environment for policy implementation. With neither established routines nor entrenched interests, reformers may be quite effective at the outset of the new government. However, they are also very

In **Guatemala,** mobilizing significant political support and resources from the public sector proved to be unfeasible. Instead, the project had to focus on acquiring and mobilizing support on the local level, using in-kind and *pro bono* organizational support from key stakeholders for project activities designed to advance the legitimacy of and community support for girls' education.

In **Morocco,** the particular challenge has been less the formulation of new policies and practices than the advancement of the organizational and socio-cultural changes needed to actually operationalize the policy agenda laid out in the country's National Charter for Educational Reform.

In **Peru,** the outstanding challenge was translating the successes achieved on the community and regional levels, driven by effective networks and constituencies, to policies and patterns of behavior on the national level, which will ensure the sustainability of the new systems.

likely to fall prey to the pitfalls and diversionary tactics of the administrative bureaucracy. The more administratively intense or complex the desired change is, the more important the need for a keen understanding of the administrative system. Inevitably the reformers' success is predicated on their ability to manage the system to produce significant impact. Veteran bureaucrats in developing country know that reformers can be worn down and that even if they cannot, the reformers will likely affect change for only a very few years. In implementing educational reform, having the full support of the Ministry of Education, although necessary, might not be sufficient to effect change. Other players, such as the Finance and Interior Ministries, the head of the Public Service, or even local authorities, may prove to hold the keys to the reforms.

Fifth, in most cases the resources needed to carry out policy change either do not exist or are in the wrong place. Budget resources are not free goods; they are the product of agreements and arrangements arrived at after considerable negotiation among interested and often powerful actors. Resources can be reallocated, but only with the consent of those with prior interest; without such consent, the consequences can be drastic. The difficulty of resource reallocation illustrates the critical role of external resources in initiating the policy change process—both as a catalyst for change and as a way to buy time to negotiate the reallocation of the budget. In this regard, policy implementation and organizational change are intimately linked.

Given the complexity and characteristics of the policy change process, what is the government official or national-level advocate supposed to do to implement a policy change? Understanding more about the actual nature of implementing policy and the nature of the tasks involved in policy implementation can help the reformer develop more adequate or more appropriate strategies for implementing complex policies. The Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC) described below is a valuable framework for planning and evaluating these strategies. Like other strategic management tools, this framework can help reformers, planners, and evaluators organize their thinking to ensure that they have asked the right questions and considered the many factors—pro and con—that may have an impact on the change process. Later, in Section III, we present a summary of each GEA country's experience and accomplishments in organizational change and policy implementation organized by the six tasks in the CFAC.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING CHANGE

Changing policy involves action by many people—legislators, national leaders, activists, and service providers, to name but a few. It involves developing and approving new laws and regulations and then translating those laws and regulations into action. Given the complexity and inherent difficulty involved in constituting education policies that directly lead to comprehensive improvements in educational practices, where should a reformer begin? Although many countries have piloted limited innovations, few have adopted specific national education reforms focusing on improved parity and equity in basic education.

Two exceptions are Morocco and Peru, where the National Charter and the Law on Rural Girls' Education, respectively, have articulated reform visions. In countries yet to adopt such national policies, such as Guatemala, the immediate challenge remains one of initial consciousness raising, mobilization, policy formulation, and policy adoption. However, as in many developing countries, the challenge in Morocco and Peru will be how to implement those policies that are now nominally on the books. Implementing new policies can usually be characterized as moving from a "what to do" problem to a "how to do it" problem.

Attacking a challenge of this size benefits from breaking it into manageable pieces or tasks and seeking effective ways to manage each of these tasks. An ambitious effort of this kind is the Implementation Task Framework developed by USAID's Democracy Center project, Implementing Policy Change (IPC), from more than a decade of studying policy change in 40 countries. It is an organizing framework for activists and policy change managers. It divides the overall process of policy change into the six distinct tasks described below and depicted in Figure 1, each of which can be managed systematically and strategically. These tasks integrate the political, behavioral, organizational, and technical aspects of the policy change effort to provide a road map for managing the change process and a common vocabulary for discussing priorities and tactics.[7] The Implementation Task Framework has been adapted for this analytical report to serve as a Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC).

In short, it means that systemic and policy change work must be catalytic—that is, in-country staff cannot be the sole agents of change. MSI's CFAC tool outlines the following series of essential tasks within the change process that lead to sustainable change:[8]

1. **Policy Legitimization**—The extent to which an initiative is viewed as legitimate by people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of the project

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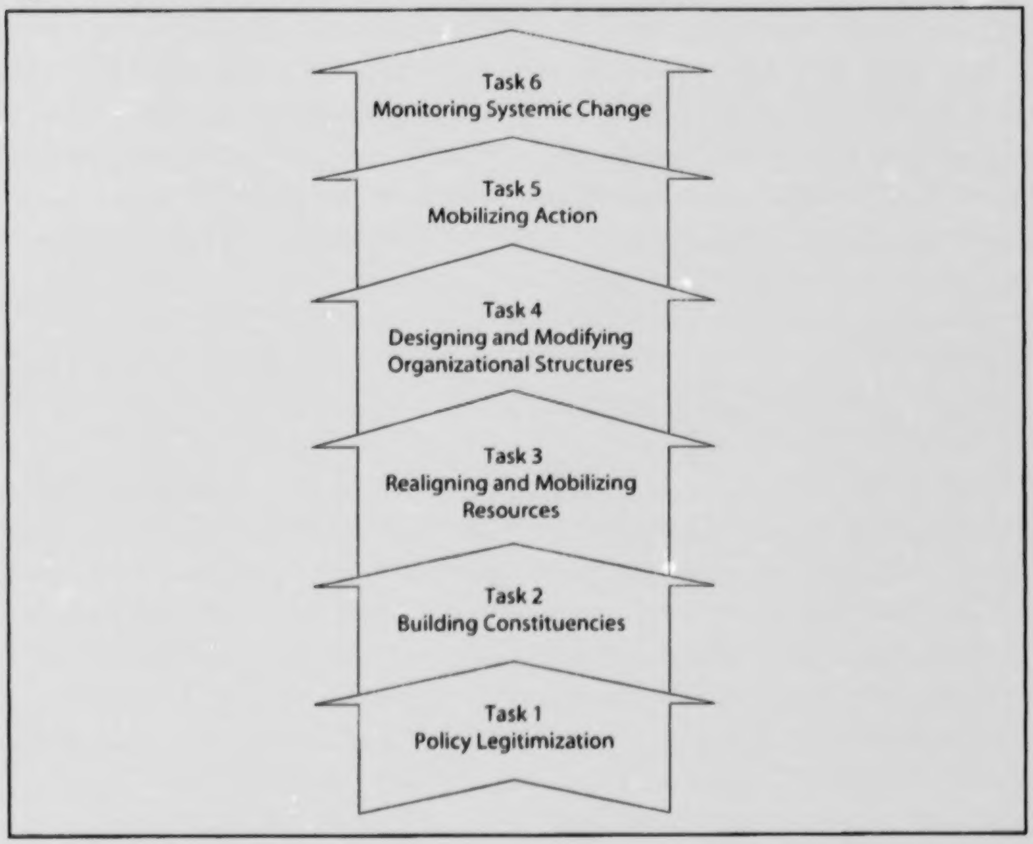
[7] Dr. Ben Crosby originally drafted the description of the analytical tool, the Policy Implementation Task Framework, which the authors of this report have adapted to analyze the achievements of the three GEA projects. The genesis of this framework was in USAID's Democracy Center project titled Implementing Policy Change (IPC); see *http://ipc.msi-inc.com.* IPC was led and managed by Management Systems International.

[8] Crosby, B. (1996). *Organizational dimensions to the implementation of policy change.* Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development.

Figure1.—Sustainable Systemic and Organizational Change


Task 6
Monitoring Systemic Change
Task 5
Mobilizing Action
Task 4
Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures
Task 3
Realigning and Mobilizing Resources
Task 2
Building Constituencies
Task 1
Policy Legitimization

2. **Building Constituencies**—The extent to which those who stand to directly benefit from the growth of the initiative are advocates and are willing to push for reforms
3. **Realigning and Mobilizing Resources**—The extent to which other public and private donors are willing to realign and allocate limited resources for the initiatives
4. **Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures**—The extent to which organizations implementing initiatives are willing to make reforms and modifications to existing administrative, regulatory, and support structures to support the initiative
5. **Mobilizing Action**—The extent to which resources have actually been mobilized to support the initiative
6. **Monitoring Systemic Change**—The extent to which the implementation of an initiative is affecting broader educational reforms and the changes in behavior can be documented

Task 1: Policy Legitimization

Before any changes on behalf of girls' education can occur, constituencies must view the change as legitimate and important. To acquire this legitimacy, some influential people and opinion leaders must come to believe—and must assert publicly—that the proposed systemic change is necessary, even though it will present serious cost and sacrifice. Legitimization involves the emergence or designation of one or more policy "champions" with credibility, political resources, and the willingness to risk that political capital to support the policy.

Since the initial impetus for girls' education policy change often comes from outside the country or from a local but small intelligentsia, it is vital that the desired systemic change be internally legitimized so that key constituencies inside the country develop a sense of ownership for the change. Because these policies represent substantial breaks from tradition and require shifts in attitudes and actions, it is important that the legitimizers, or policy champions, enjoy widespread credibility and state unambiguously that what the new policy represents is important, valid, and desirable. The more difficult or contentious the policy is, or the more it departs from past practice, the more important the legitimization function is. Although champions can come from either the public or the private sector, it is important that those policies that originate outside of government attract high-level government support at the earliest feasible date.

> It is vital that the desired systemic change be internally legitimized so that key constituencies inside the country develop a sense of ownership for the change.

The task of legitimization is crucial not only for getting new policies approved but also for developing the broader and deeper base of support needed for implementation. The successes in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru in establishing broad-based legitimacy for girls' education varied considerably:

- Although much remains to be done to establish legitimacy for girls' education on the national level in Guatemala, GEA was able to facilitate change on the regional and local levels. One tactic for legitimizing the GEA's work on the community level was to provide technical assistance to the Ministry of Education's Bilingual Education Directorate, which in turn lent its credibility to GEA's local initiatives. Although falling short of being a real policy champion, the Directorate did help make contacts and open closed "cultural doors" within targeted communities.
- In Morocco, public sector political support for girls' education was won early in the project and at the highest level of society. This allowed GEA staff to focus on crafting messages and tactics that would extend the legitimacy of girls' education to NGOs and the private sector, both of which had shown limited interest prior to the project.

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- From the beginning of the project in Peru, GEA staff were able to acquire the support of national-level stakeholders. The endorsement of regional and local leaders followed as the project began to work directly in the Department of Ayacucho and indirectly with regional networks and girls' education coordinators across the country. It was clear that establishing legitimacy with both national and local stakeholders was key to moving ahead with the change process on either level.

Task 2: Building Constituencies

Similar to legitimization, constituency building is an essential task for both policy formulation and policy implementation. Since initial support for comprehensive girls' education policies is rarely sufficient to ensure adoption and implementation, an adequate constituency for the reform must be developed. In other words, the reform must be marketed and promoted. Likely constituents are those who can hope to be better off as a result of the policy change and those who support the policy change philosophically. Constituency building complements and amplifies the legitimization process. It aims not only at gaining passive acceptance of the need for policy change, but also at mobilizing action in favor of the new policy. Although evidence shows that once a constituency has a stake in a policy outcome it will be more likely to mobilize to defend its interests in the change, assembling a constituency at the outset is a difficult task. In the case of girls' education policies, constituency building is particularly challenging because the potential beneficiaries (especially rural girls and families) are typically underpowered, poor, and unorganized. Since the benefits of policy change will mostly be felt in the long run, a certain amount of faith on the part of the new constituents is necessary.

> Since initial support for comprehensive girls' education policies is rarely sufficient to ensure adoption and implementation, an adequate constituency for the reform must be developed.

Many countries have relatively little overt opposition to girls' education policy change. The opposition to more comprehensive and progressive policies results more commonly from conflicting demands for resources, institutional inertia or ineffectiveness, and turf conflicts associated with the operationalization of such reforms. The implementation of reforms is often confounded by a lack of institutional management skills and a lack of precedents for the requisite multidisciplinary approaches needed to mobilize resources beyond the scope of the formal education system. Because new girls' education policies affect budget priorities, opposition frequently comes from those whose budgets would be reduced to free up the resources for the new policy. Moreover, existing bureaucracies are often reluctant to change to reflect new policies. The task of constituency building must continue until it is sufficient to overcome these sources of resistance.

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To date, international actors have played a large role in the pursuit of more equitable and forward-looking education policies. International networks, although small, are better organized than most national networks; national policy frequently comes from agreements and standards originating in international forums.

Within the three GEA countries, the impetus for adopting comprehensive girls' education policies almost always began outside of government. Now, however, substantial numbers of advocates for girls' education are growing within governments as well. Groups of advocates have become increasingly well defined in Peru over the past four years. This is slowly becoming the case in Morocco, where a developing cadre of reform-minded superintendents *(Délégués)* and senior Delegation managers are increasingly supportive of initiatives in community involvement, improved access, and equity. In Guatemala, some Technical Administrative Coordinators in regional branches of the Ministry of Education have become aware of the need for promoting girls' education. Regardless, each GEA project spent the majority of its five years working to establish, broaden, and strengthen constituency groups outside of government.

- GEA Guatemala's constituency-building efforts were primarily focused on the local level. GEA also successfully created stakeholders in participating communities by offering community organization services and using highly participatory and culturally adapted methods. The project was also able to transform bilingual teachers and the Technical Administrative Coordinators of Ministry of Education's Quiché Office into effective advocates for girls' education.
- Morocco made meaningful inroads with national and local NGOs who had not previously included girls' education in their development agendas. The project was also able to demonstrate how to form effective private-public partnerships for school improvements.
- GEA Peru was successful in establishing national networks, regional networks, and local committees that have built loyal, active constituencies on behalf of girls' education. These constituencies plan to continue their collaboration after the end of the GEA project.

Task 3: Realigning and Mobilizing Resources

Implementing any new policy requires human, technical, and financial resources. These resources are rarely in place at the outset, and old priorities do not disappear simply because new problems arise. The nature of the problems in primary education requires both short-term and long-term resource mobilization strategies. The tasks of realigning and mobilizing resources need to be approached in a strategic and coherent way that secures initial funding (public and private, international and domestic) and ensures the policy a place in the government's budget allocation process. Managing the period of transition is a particular concern given the inability of governments to redistribute human and financial resources to new priorities on short notice and the associated risk of program or project shutdowns once donor resources are exhausted.

Moreover, the resource problem is not simply financial. Often, the ministerial unit charged with coordinating the implementation of education policy is severely deficient in resources or, even worse, is an empty shell. It is a tragic irony that the scarcity of skilled human resources to advance girls' education initiatives in the field is compounded by the very gap that girls' education policies seek to fill. As in the first two tasks—legitimization and constituency building—those managing the task of realigning and mobilizing resources must reach beyond the boundaries of individual units and organizations and use a strategic management framework if they are to have any hope of integrating the political, organizational, technical, and financial aspects of this task. The recent emergence of debt relief as an important entry point has underscored this point.

Task 4: Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures

Implementing meaningful policy change almost always calls for the creation of new organizations, major changes to existing organizations, or both. Girls' education policies are no exception. In each GEA country, creating or expanding national networks for girls' education, and later regional and local networks, was the starting point for influencing systemic change.

These new policies affect organizations in three ways. First, some organizations are affected internally in terms of what they do and how they do it. A massive scale-up is required. Reorganizations and modifications of tasks cause many organizations' structural components to be superseded by new units and departments. Second, since systemic change cuts across organizational and functional boundaries, the implementing organizations need to pay more attention to the external environment and to their external stakeholders, both to secure resources and to address turf issues. Third, since successful actions by one governmental unit may depend on the implementation of complementary actions by other organizations, the need for sharing information and resources is great, as is the need for more concerted coordination. It is noteworthy that broad-based coalitions and public-private partnerships have become essential organizational mechanisms for implementing improved girls' education policies at both national and local levels. This is well demonstrated in the GEA Morocco and Peru experiences where multi-sectoral coalitions have been key to stimulating action and change.

Broad-based coalitions and public-private partnerships have become essential organizational mechanisms for implementing improved girls' education policies.

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Creating new structures may initially appear easier than overhauling old ones. This can, however, be quite costly—especially if existing organizations remain untouched. Officials in the older structures understand the budgeting, procurement, financial, and personnel systems of government and likely have their own political networks. Dislodging or eliminating such structures may prove to be an imposing task and may cause the new organization to operate in parallel with older ones rather than replace them.

The CFAC Task 4—Modifying Organizational Structures—provides a focus for national planners, and the leaders of individual organizations, to assess what organizational changes are needed and to oversee the change process.

Task 5: Mobilizing Action

Even if the implementing agencies inside and outside government have the needed resources, there are no guarantees that they will carry out the assigned policy change—behavior must change, and actions must be taken that reflect the new policy. Until implementation actually occurs, policy change is theoretical. Real change provokes new resistance. Real change also requires concrete plans about how, when, where, and by whom resources are to be used. Programs need to be designated, projects designed, and action strategies identified and then put into place. Frequently, these activities require joint planning across organizational boundaries.

It is no surprise that GEA's work in forming and supporting new coalitions in each country included action planning and support for pilot projects (demonstrated in all three countries). Since the implementing agencies will probably continue to resist the mandated changes, strategies must be developed to overcome that resistance. New incentives may have to be created to induce the organization to adopt the new modes and practices required by the policy change. If the new policies are implemented alongside the agency's traditional activities, those in charge need to be alert to attempts to siphon off resources for other activities. Task 5 focuses on instituting the multi-organization planning processes, the coordination mechanisms, and the accountability procedures needed to ensure that policy intent is translated into concrete action.

Task 6: Monitoring Systemic Change

It is important to track the effects of policy change and to correct or adjust the policy if it is not producing the intended results. Such monitoring or evaluation should begin early in the process, and it should be done in a credible, public, and transparent manner. Monitoring policy change usually requires mechanisms for periodic review and spans the actions of multiple organizations over several years. Also of crucial importance are mechanisms for feeding this information back to the public and to policymakers.

The question of who monitors the overall policy is also important. Although a given agency can monitor the impact of its own policy change actions, it is less obvious who is responsible for tracking cumulative policy impact over several agencies. Frequently, the press, citizens' groups, and nonpartisan monitoring organizations play important roles. Although international and national mechanisms have been established to monitor girls' education and policy change in most countries, relatively few mechanisms exist for feeding this information back into the public policy process. This requires strategic planning by means of general social communications campaigns, targeted and sustained interaction with public and private policymakers, and a concerted effort to track the progress of policy change so that key stakeholders can increase pressure for the enactment and implementation of desired policies.

Section III: GEA Country Experience

This section of the report of the Girls' Education Activity project (GEA) in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru reviews GEA's major activities and analyzes its achievements. It explains what activities GEA undertook in each country as well as the importance of those actions within the context of sustainable policy change, or effecting systemic change. Over the five years of the project, considerable achievements were made, despite many structural and cultural barriers to the education of girls.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS SECTION

GEA's accomplishments in Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru cannot be adequately appreciated simply by looking at how the GEA multi-sectoral approach was translated into such activities as policy dialogue, advocacy, community organizing, networking, fund-raising, training, and information dissemination. As explained in Section II, it is important to distinguish between actions that can affect systemic change and actions that are discrete initiatives. This important distinction is illustrated in Table 3. We emphasize this distinction because each GEA project was constantly experimenting with interventions intended to stimulate and support the creation of lasting systemic changes in the local environment of each country. These interventions had different types of effects. In many cases, although to differing degrees, the combination of effects led to new behaviors and relationships that have essentially changed the socio-political environment for girls' education. That is, they can be considered to have effected some systemic change. Not all interventions, however, had this result; some remained at the level of discrete initiatives.

The majority of GEA's interventions focused on stimulating national or regional and systemic changes in the political and organizational life of key institutions, stakeholders, and decision makers. This section describes and analytically discusses these interventions, guided by a **Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change (CFAC)** *(an analytical tool described in detail in Section II)*. The point of this CFAC is to provide context for understanding GEA's various *systemic* accomplishments. GEA's support for systemic and organizational change is described in each country-specific sub-section, organized according to the six tasks of the CFAC.

Table 3.–Inter-Related Achievements on the National, Regional, and Local Levels

GEA stimulus and support for change

Type of Intervention	Intervening Intermediaries	Achievements in Support of Girls' Education
Effects change in organizational and socio-political environment *Support for efforts that make the implementation of girls' education policies and approaches sustainable*	National, regional, and some community organizations: • Ministry of National Education • National-level NGOs • Private business (i.e., banks and industry) • Bilateral and multilateral donors • Community associations	Sustainable organizational policies, behaviors, and programs • New policies, procedures, and priorities • New program focused on girls' education • New patterns of resource acquisition and allocation • New institutional partnerships that cross traditional organizational and sector divisions • Girls' education scholarships programs
Effects discrete initiatives *Pilot efforts or one-time contributions at the local level*	Local communities and institutions: • Schools • Community associations • Local businesses	One-time alleviation of barriers to girls' access and retention at the local level: • Isolated experimentation and demonstration projects • Provision of school supplies • Improved school infrastructure

In Guatemala, GEA's greatest impact was observed at the regional or community level. In Morocco, the political situation led to considerable gains on the national level, although these still need to be translated into concrete action on the broader community level. Meanwhile, Peru was able to affect policy change on all three levels—community, regional, and national.

This section's country-specific sub-sections are organized into three parts:

1. A description of the country's environment for girls' education
2. An overview of GEA's development history and major contributions to girls' education in each country
3. A qualitative analysis of those GEA interventions that advanced systemic and organizational change

Section III-A: Changing Girls' Education in Guatemala

THE GUATEMALAN EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

GEA in Guatemala began in the wake of Guatemala's 36-year civil conflict, which ended with the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. The Guatemalan Peace Accords are more than a formal ending to years of armed conflict; they represent a social compact pledging that Guatemala will become a more participatory, pluralistic, and equitable society. The Accords require major investments in health, education, and other basic services to reach the rural indigenous poor. They also require the full participation of the indigenous people in local and national decision making. For the latter to occur, Guatemala needs to raise the level of education of the country as a whole. Adult illiteracy in the country is estimated at 35 percent, but among indigenous—Mayan—women it is estimated at 75 percent. Moreover, Guatemala's school completion rates are among the lowest in Latin America. Even third-grade completion rates are well below those in many other developing countries. In rural indigenous areas, such as the Department of El Quiché—a region ravaged during Guatemala's civil conflict—the situation is deplorable: only 20 percent of girls and 26 percent of boys who began first grade in 1996 completed third grade in 1998.

In 1997, an assessment of the barriers to improving the levels of primary education in Guatemala identified five principal types of obstacles: (1) limited household and family resources among the poor, which makes the loss of a child's labor a huge economic sacrifice for a family; (2) the lack of schools in many rural areas and the lack of any public transportation in remote regions; (3) poor nutrition, sanitation, and health, which can detrimentally affect children's attendance and their ability and readiness to learn; (4) traditional socio-cultural beliefs, values, and practices that do not place much value on formal education and that regard an education for girls as a waste of time and money; and (5) poor quality schooling, which all too often requires rote memorization, relies on lecturing methods, privileges boys, and makes little accommodation for children whose first language is not Spanish.[9]

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[9] Leal, A. (1997). *Guatemala: Status report: Knowledge base of girls' education.* Washington, DC: Institute for International Research.

OVERVIEW OF THE GUATEMALA GIRLS' EDUCATION PROJECT

The USAID Office of Girls and Women in Development (EGAT/WID) launched the Girls' Education Activity in Guatemala in September 1997. At that time, World Learning opened an office in Guatemala City for Proyecto Global, the local name for GEA in Guatemala, to carry out the Girls' Education project. The goal of the project was to provide assistance on the national and local levels to facilitate change in the community, classroom, and home that would increase the percentage of girls who complete fifth grade, especially in rural areas and among indigenous populations. Between September 1997 and August 2001, the project promoted a national discourse on girls' education, developed materials particularly well crafted to promote girls' education in the Guatemalan social and cultural context, and demonstrated the effectiveness and constraints of four strategies: (1) changing teacher practices, (2) increasing community support for girls' education, (3) increasing public awareness about girls' education issues, and (4) increasing girls' access to education (Table 4). This section places these activities in context and describes them in detail.

Because of its critical situation and multiple impediments to indigenous girls' education, Guatemala was one of the original countries where USAID decided to initiate a girls' education project. Proyecto Global, however, was the second USAID girls' education project in Guatemala. USAID began to promote girls' education in Guatemala in 1993 when its Basic Education Strengthening (BEST) project (1989–1997) launched Guatemala's first Girls' Education Project (BEST/GEP). Thus Proyecto Global's girls' education activity did not begin with a blank slate. It began within a nexus of pre-existing relationships, infrastructures, and expectations, and it began with a set of inherited materials and strategies. The fact that Proyecto Global was not a pioneer should, in theory, have given the project a running start. In reality, however, it gave Proyecto Global a very slow start.

One reason for this slow start was that BEST/GEP was scheduled to end in 1996 but was extended a year and a half until 1997. To avoid having two independent USAID girls' education projects working in the country at the same time, USAID/Washington decided to postpone Proyecto Global until BEST/GEP officially ended. In addition, Proyecto Global started slowly because it had to spend considerable time redefining itself at its inception.

USAID originally envisioned Proyecto Global as a counterpart of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Together with the Guatemalan government, Proyecto Global and JICA were to work on the Common Agenda that the United States, Japan, and Guatemala had agreed on in 1995. The Common Agenda was an agreement within the framework of the international Women in Development Initiative (WID) that identified a set of goals for U.S., Japanese, and Guatemalan cooperation to promote girls' education. Proyecto Global and Japanese experts were to begin work in 1996 with El

Table 4.–Guatemala GEA Project Time Line

1996		Guatemala signs the Peace Accords ending 36 years of conflict and requiring major investments in health, education, and other basic services to reach the rural indigenous poor.
		GEA/Proyecto Global is supposed to begin work with SIMAC along with JICA, but its start is postponed by the continuation of USAID's Basic Education Strengthening (BEST) project.
1997		USAID's BEST project ends.
	Sept.	GEA starts and World Learning opens Proyecto Global's office in Guatemala City.
		FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program begins.
1998	April	Proyecto Global contracts for a situational assessment of indigenous girls' education in Guatemala.
	May	A delegation from Guatemala participates in the USAID International Conference on Girls' Education.
		Proyecto Global supports the Third National Seminar on Girls' Education.
		Proyecto Global runs a year-long sensitization program for mothers in coordination with DIGEBI in 11 departments throughout the country.
		Leo Burnet begins its *pro bono* work.
1999	Jan.	Quiché teacher training workshop is led by Dr. Sudia Paloma McCaleb.
	Mar.	Situational assessment is completed.
	Oct.	Follow-up teacher training workshop is held in El Quiché (work begins on *Sugerencias*).
		Evaluation of FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program in El Quiché is completed.
		Tzununul invites Proyecto Global to lead sensitization workshop in the community.
2000	Jan.-June	Proyecto Global Quiché staff begin regular sensitization workshops in 15 communities.
		Tzununul imposes a fine on parents who do not send their girls to school.
		Leo Burnet completes its *pro bono* work, but no financing of media campaign is forthcoming.
		Gish Paz Associates is hired to develop social communication materials for El Quiché.
		FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program ends.
	Sept.	Teachers complete *Sugerencias*.
	Oct.	Community participation manual is drafted.
	Nov.	AEN's network Esfuerzo Nacional is created.
2001	Feb.	Gish Paz radio spots air.
	July	Training workshop in how to use *Sugerencias* is organized and held at the request of the Technical Vice-Minister of Education.
	Sept.	Breakfasts are held with NGOs, private sector, and university faculty to present the project's social communication materials, *Sugerencias*, and the Community Participation Manual.
		Proyecto Global is scheduled to end.

Sistema Nacional de Mejoramiento de los Recursos Humanos y Adecuación Curricular (SIMAC), the training and curriculum branch of the Ministry of Education, to strengthen girls' education institutionally by training Guatemalan teachers to integrate more active and gender-sensitive lessons into their classes.[10] Proyecto Global's year and a half delay in starting disrupted these plans.

Because of the delayed start, USAID/Washington decided that Proyecto Global would not be able to work with the Japanese group as originally planned, even though JICA began work in response to the Common Agenda in 1996 and had begun planning cooperative efforts with representatives of BEST and Proyecto Global's future coordinator in 1997. JICA was informed that USAID "prefers that Japan and USAID execute their projects running parallel within the Common Agenda frame," and Proyecto Global was informed that it would no longer "work with the Common Agenda as it was defined in 1995."[11] USAID/Guatemala and the national director of Proyecto Global, Angela Leal, had to then define how Proyecto Global would implement the girls' education activity in Guatemala.

Working with USAID/Washington and the prime contractor, the Institute for International Research of the American Institutes for Research (AIR), Leal formulated a work plan for Proyecto Global at the end of 1997. According to this work plan, Proyecto Global would (1) continue the type of work that BEST/GEP had supported and (2) institutionalize changes promoting or strengthening girls' education. Proyecto Global proposed to continue the type of work done by FUNDAZUCAR's[12] *Eduque a la Niña* (Educate the Girl) in two ways: (1) by adopting *Eduque*'s three intervention strategies—providing scholarships supported by social promoters to sensitize parents to the importance of girls' education, creating parent committees supported by promoters, and providing gender-sensitive educational materials to teachers[13]—and (2) by using the materials created by BEST/GEP to promote girls' education. This strategy allowed Proyecto Global to comply with USAID/Washington's November 1997 prohibition on creating new materials to promote girls' education in Guatemala, which was mandated because such materials had been created by BEST/GEP. Proyecto Global proposed to institutionalize changes by creating a national education advisory council that would foster the national coordination of efforts in support of girls' education as a parallel effort to JICA's work.

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[10] Leal, A. (1997, May). *Guatemala work plan*, pp. 5–6. See also Harris, A. M. (1997). *GEA trip report #7 (July 16–August 7, 1997).*

[11] *GEA monthly report, October 1997*, p. 5.

[12] FUNDAZUCAR (a contraction of Foundation of Sugar Producers) began supporting girls' education soon after it was founded in 1990. In Guatemala, FUNDAZUCAR has a reputation for efficiently and effectively implementing projects on education, health, and infrastructure programs. FUNDAZUCAR partially funded the research for and the publication of Guatemala's National Plan of Action on Girls' Education and was selected to implement the *Eduque a la Niña* project in a competitive bidding process. FUNDAZUCAR and other participating institutions were expected to generate funds from private sector groups within the country to pay for the project and to establish sustainability for its activities.

[13] USAID Center for Development Information and Evaluation. (1999, July). *Impact evaluation: Improving girls' education in Guatemala*. Washington, DC: Author, p. 8.

In February 1998 (five months into the project), USAID/Guatemala suggested that Proyecto Global's five-year work plan was pursuing too many disparate actions and recommended that Proyecto Global focus on "bilingual education and understanding of cultural, linguistic, and gender problems" (i.e., a continuation of most of the *Eduque* work). USAID/Guatemala noted, however, that if "Global Project is not completely convinced of this articulation and its link with USAID/G[uatemala]'s strategy, we recommend that the Global Project focus and develop results (national coordination). USAID/G[uatemala] will work on its own strategy, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Project with results 1, 2 and 3 (teacher training, [classroom methodologies and] materials, and participation)."[14] Proyecto Global accepted USAID/Guatemala's recommendation and focused on continuing the strategies of *Eduque a la Niña*, leaving the work of national coordination to JICA and other organizations, such as Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña (AEN). Organized as a commission in 1991 and incorporated as a legal entity in 1995, AEN is a membership organization that brings together representatives of the Ministry of Education, FUNDAZUCAR, ANACAFE, FUNRURAL, the Baha'i Community, and others interested in promoting girls' education.[15]

CONDUCTING A SITUATIONAL ASSESSMENT

Taking up USAID/Guatemala's recommended focus (on "understanding of cultural, linguistic, and gender problems"), Proyecto Global contracted Dr. Michael Richards to direct a Situational Assessment for GEA. This study, directed by Dr. Richards and conducted by Proyecto Global staff, began in April 1998 and was completed in March 1999. This study was designed to (1) identify how indigenous families "assess[ed] the utility of sending children to school" and (2) "build an ethnoclassificatory model of child development that can be used in subsequent phases of the Girls' Education Project, for example, in the construction of motivational messages to enhance girls' educational participation."[16] Strategically, Dr. Richards's study was meant to provide direction for the development of Proyecto Global's three areas of activities to increase girls' participation in primary school:

1. Changing teacher practices through teacher training and improved classroom methodologies

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[14] *GEA monthly report, February 1998.*

[15] For a more detailed account of the creation and work of AEN, see Ministerio de Educación. (1997). *La iniciativa de la educación de la niña: Una retrospectiva 1991–1997.* Guatemala, CA: BEST.

[16] Richards, M. (1998, December 11). *Situational assessment of girls' education in Quiché, December 1998—Where are we and where are we going?* Pp. 12, 13.

2. Increasing community support for girls' education through community participatory learning activities or community sensitizing workshops
3. Increasing public awareness of the need for girls' education through the use of social communication materials

The study, however, was not completed until two months after Proyecto Global had organized and held, in January 1999, its initial teacher training workshop in Chichicastenango for El Quiché teachers to learn about and prepare a teachers' manual on interactive and dynamic teaching methods. Moreover, the findings of the situational assessment did not lend themselves to any direct application for structuring community "sensitizing" workshops or for creating social communication materials. The study had seven main findings:

1. "Girls' participation in schooling has improved significantly in the past ten years," but "boys still are expected to attain higher levels of education than girls."
2. "Girls are expected to diminish their mobility even at the age they attend primary school," because "sexual maturity is supposed to be countered by behaviors that minimize their exposure to men," which includes "not traveling to and from school or being in classrooms with male teachers."
3. "The acquisition of Spanish language skills, particularly verbal skills, is seen as the primary motivator for school attendance."
4. "Younger children are being spoken to more in Spanish as a first language [than previously was common]," and "fathers speak more to their children in Spanish than do mothers."
5. "Teachers are scrutinized more and more by community committees through the Ministry of Education's decentralization policies," and "student attendance is up" as a consequence of more regular teacher attendance.
6. "Quiché notions and expectations of children"—
    - Place "an emphasis on children learning by observation and imitation," from an early age;
    - Consider "by age seven-eight, [that] children are functioning as contributing members [of their family and community]";
    - Consider "by age 11-12, [that] children are working more and playing less, especially girls"; and
    - Consider "by age 15-16, [that] both girls and boys are fully tracked into productive performance, and school is not prominent in their lives."

7. "Regional Maya society is undergoing transformations. . . . One hears the phrases of a number of mothers who express that it is their intention to ensure that theirs will be the last illiterate generation of women."[17]

Such findings contributed to the academic literature on girls' education in Guatemala and were used in the creation of social communication materials. However, the study as a whole was deemed too technical and academic by the Mission (USAID/Guatemala), other NGOs, and the Ministry of Education. In the end, it consumed a great deal of the project's time and resources during the first year without providing any applicable strategies.

TEACHER TRAINING AND CLASSROOM METHODOLOGIES

Proyecto Global's first efforts to institutionalize change that could increase girls' participation in school focused on teacher training. In the context of Guatemalan school reform, teacher training to promote girls' education has meant not only training teachers to be sensitive to gender stereotypes and roles, but also introducing instructional methods that engage children and make them agents in their own learning. Traditional pedagogical practices in Guatemala consist of lecture, memorization, recitation, and tests. For indigenous children who have never been exposed to literacy practices, who have not seen a value placed on formal education, and whose mother tongue (and often only language) is a Mayan language, these traditional methods in Spanish can make school a frustrating, intimidating, and even demeaning experience. Teaching teachers interactive and dynamic methods to incorporate into their lessons can make schooling more accessible and appealing to the indigenous girls who are most at risk of leaving school.

To promote the use of such interactive and dynamic methods by teachers, Proyecto Global supplied the Ministry of Education's Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (DIGEBI) with teacher training materials prepared by BEST/GEP. If DIGEBI, a major division in the Ministry of Education working to improve education for indigenous children, had made such material a regular part of teacher training, then institutionalizing teacher training in interactive and dynamic methods would have taken a large step forward.

Unfortunately, in May 1998, six months into the project, DIGEBI reported that the materials provided by Proyecto Global were not suitable for use in rural areas (where most DIGEBI-supported bilingual instruction occurs) because they were too complex and abstract and relied on difficult vocabulary. Proyecto Global's Director reviewed these materials—namely, *Creando Oportunidades*

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[17] See Richards, M., & Arevalo, F. (1999, March). *Análisis situacional de la educación de la niña en le departamento de el Quiché* (Guatemala), pp. 65–69, quotation 66. Also see the English draft manuscript *Girls' education in Quiché, Guatemala* (draft manuscript for World Learning, n.d.), pp. 15–17, quotation 17.

para las Niñas and *Las Experiencias con la Educación de la Niña*, both prepared by BEST in 1997—with rural teachers in mind. The Director agreed that the materials were pitched at too abstract a level for most teachers in Guatemala and failed to provide practical examples of how to apply the materials to their lessons. Because USAID/Washington had prohibited Proyecto Global from creating new materials, Director Leal sought advice from USAID/Guatemala, which recommended revising the material in the teachers' manual to simplify its language and make it more accessible to all teachers. USAID/Guatemala then advanced the idea of working with Quiché teachers to do this. In fall 1998, Guatemala's Ministry of Education granted permission to hold teacher workshops, and USAID/Washington allowed the development of new materials for teacher training.

These complications meant that teacher-training activities, like the project as a whole, started slowly. Thus, for the first year, Proyecto Global's time and efforts went into (1) preparing for the Third National Seminar on Girls' Education (held in May 1998 by JICA) and (2) conducting the situational assessment.

The teacher-training workshop held in Chichicastenango from January 25 to 29, 1999, initiated Proyecto Global's own work in teacher training. This workshop, led by Dr. Sudia Paloma McCaleb of New College of California, reviewed a variety of interactive and dynamic teaching methods for Guatemalan teachers to apply in their own classes. These activities included creating interactive diaries, conducting interactive readings, making personal books, using picture books to introduce books and the concept of recorded stories, and using audio materials. Dr. Paloma presented one lesson twice—the first time using traditional teaching methods and the second time using more active teaching practices (*dinámicas*). This demonstration made a very compelling case for *dinámicas*. Approximately 40 teachers attended this workshop and worked with Dr. Paloma to produce, by the end of the workshop, *La Creación de Un Curriculum Auténtico Para Motivar a Niñas Mayas y a Sus Familias* (The Creation of an Authentic Curriculum to Motivate Maya Girls and Their Families). *La Creación* was intended as a manual to give teachers ideas for interactive and dynamic teaching methods well suited to support girls' education.

Tomasa Bulux, Proyecto Global's Quiché Advisor, followed up on this workshop in the spring of 1999 when she visited the various communities from which the participating teachers had come. Bulux delivered audiocassettes with recorded materials that supplemented the teachers' manual and inquired about how much the school used the manual's ideas. Bulux found that few of these ideas were being applied in the classroom and that only the bilingual teachers who attended Dr. Paloma's workshop used any interactive and dynamic lessons. Other teachers in the schools either did not adopt or did not learn about the manual's ideas. One reason, according to a teacher at Chipaca Elementary School, was that "no one really knew how to apply the *dinámicas*."

Proyecto Global's responded to this difficulty by setting up training sessions in how to apply the ideas of the teachers' manual. With the help of DIGEBI, Bulux selected seven communities on the basis of the availability and cooperation of teachers, school distance, and accessibility. Bulux began to lead these local training (and sensitization) sessions for teachers during the summer. By the fall, however, it was clear that more than support was needed. Proyecto Global thus decided to retool the teachers' manual and involve more teachers in the process.

Proyecto Global received permission to organize a follow-up workshop in October 1999, which included teachers who had participated in the January workshop as well as new teachers. These teachers accepted Dr. Paloma's organization of the teachers' manual as a framework and set about to develop explanations for the various interactive and dynamic teaching methods—explanations that would facilitate the use of the materials by teachers "who did not have considerable training or imagination and who lacked time to learn [how to use them]."[18] The process of working with other teachers on this task was considered very fruitful because it allowed teachers to cooperate and share their experiences and stimulated teachers to think about how to involve girls in classroom lessons.

The participating teachers soon realized that what they were attempting to accomplish—making the teachers' manual accessible and useful for rural teachers—was more than they could do in a single workshop. Thus they requested that the work be continued. In the end, seven workshops were needed (spread out between fall 1999 and summer 2000) before the original teachers' manual was completely revised into *Sugerencias de dinámicas que apoyan mi trabajo: Actividades para que las niñas y los niños mejoren su aprendizaje en el aula* (Suggested dynamic lessons that can assist my teaching: Activities for boys and girls to improve their classroom learning). The final version of the manual contains about 50 activities and presentations (ranging from guided activities for children to describe how they feel in given situations to drawings for children to tell a story about), plus two dozen songs and mini-posters conveying basic values in picture form (e.g., show respect to others, listen attentively, be trustworthy).

In schools and classrooms where teachers have applied the suggested dynamic lessons of *Sugerencias*, teachers and the Ministry of Education's Quiché Office of the Technical Administrative Coordinator (CTA in Spanish) have reported various positive results:

- The relationships between students and teachers (with students growing to have greater trust in teachers, talking to them outside of the classroom, and so on) and the nature of the school (gradually shifting from a place to be taught to a community of learners) have changed noticeably.

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[18] Interview with teachers at Chipaca Elementary School (Provasnik and Elias, 6/6/01).

- Students are becoming engaged in their own education, even making suggestions in the classroom for the first time (e.g., suggesting using natural materials from the river instead of teacher-supplied materials).
- Teachers are discovering which students have natural leadership skills (from small-group activities) and are able to nurture those skills.
- Girls are more confident about speaking out and participating.
- Girls and boys cooperate more frequently and with greater ease outside the classroom because they have done activities together in the classroom.

Although all these results were encouraging (though none were measured), DIGEBI was not pleased with the final product because it was prepared only in Spanish and not in the local Mayan language, K'iche', for bilingual use. DIGEBI had given its support to Proyecto Global's teacher training activities because it expected to see contributions to bilingual teaching methods. In its final form, *Sugerencias* does not address bilingual teaching methods. However, according to bilingual teachers who participated in the creation of *Sugerencias*, DIGEBI has a narrow view of bilingual education and appears to miss the point of the manual: to introduce teaching methods that make the classroom more dynamic and hence more interesting to students, especially indigenous—that is, bilingual—students, who typically are not engaged by traditional rote teaching techniques. These teachers emphasize that all teachers in the country read Spanish and can conduct the dynamic activities in any language. Therefore, they do not see the need for the manual to be translated into each indigenous language.

Without DIGEBI's support for *Sugerencias*, the future of the manual for a while was unclear. Even in its revised format, teachers cannot pick up the manual and immediately apply its contents. Some training is essential for teachers to appreciate the transformative power of the *dinámicas* and to understand how they should incorporate the *dinámicas* into their lessons. As one teacher who participated in the development of *Sugerencias* noted, "These *dinámicas* are not simply fun activities and games to do with children," which is apparently what many teachers think when they hear the word *dinámicas*. She emphasized that teachers need to realize that interactive teaching methods can complement lessons rather than distract from them. She pointed out that many teachers are understandably reluctant to try *dinámicas* if they think that they are games to be interspersed with schoolwork so that children enjoy some of the school day. These teachers believe that such games ultimately make children reluctant to do schoolwork because they want to spend time playing games.

Training in how to incorporate *dinámicas* into classroom lessons is relatively simple to organize and fund, and plenty of teachers in El Quiché, who participated in the development of *Sugerencias*, are available to lead such training for their fellow teachers. Yet, Proyecto Global was not able to hold training in El Quiché. The CTA in the Quiché regional center of Sacapulas, a municipality in the western part of El Quiché, organized a number of training sessions for teachers in spring 2001. However, these sessions never occurred because the instructors from the USAID-World Learning initiative Access to Intercultural Bilingual Education (AIBE) Program (or PAEBI in Spanish) did not have time to facilitate these training sessions before the Ministry of Education forbade all teacher training in the country until it finished its professionalization program in summer 2001.

Training in how to use *Sugerencias*, however, occurred under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, particularly the Technical Vice Minister, who was impressed by the manual at a presentation made by Proyecto Global and who publicly announced his plan to train Ministry staff to use *Sugerencias* at a July 2001 breakfast forum to introduce the project's efforts to the public sector. The Vice Minister ordered that 22 Ministry staff be trained in how to teach teachers to apply the methods in *Sugerencias* along with 2 representatives from each of the 22 departmental offices of the Ministry of Education. This training occurred in Guatemala City over August 16 and 17, 2001, and included not only 44 "technicians" from the Ministry, but also 25 teacher trainers from PAEBI, 15 from Fe y Alegría, and 5 from the Universidad de Galileo.

Proyecto Global hopes that this Ministry-sponsored training will mean that eventually all new teachers will be trained by the Ministry to effectively use *Sugerencias* and that lasting institutional change will result. It is too early to say, however, what the outcome of this two-day training will be and whether teacher trainers who have learned about, but have not used, *dinámicas* in the classroom will be able to be effective in bringing about lasting change in teacher practices.

In addition to this potential for the institutionalization of *Sugerencias* are other promising signs that *Sugerencias* will be used in the future. USAID EGAT/WID has authorized $100,000 for USAID/Guatemala to reproduce as many as 10,000 copies of *Sugerencias* for teacher-training purposes. PAEBI has begun to use some of the techniques from *Sugerencias* when it trains teachers in bilingual education and plans to incorporate *Sugerencias* into its teacher training program when it receives sufficient copies.

COMMUNITY WORK

Community-sensitizing workshops are an essential step for promoting girls' education. In the most traditional rural communities in Guatemala—where women are not accorded the same status that men enjoy, are not allowed to participate in local governance, are not allowed to express opinions in public, and lack self-esteem—community-sensitizing workshops introduce the idea that women are important contributing members of the community who have valuable opinions and deserve respect.

The value of such sensitizing workshops for increasing support for girls' education was convincingly demonstrated in Guatemala by the NGO Asociación Guatemalteca de Educación Sexual (AGES), which funded scholarships for girls from 1987 through 1994. An evaluation of AGES found that community work to motivate parents to be aware of and to support their daughter's schooling was a crucial factor in the scholarship program's success.

From its inception, Proyecto Global planned to use community-sensitizing workshops as an intervention method to promote girls' education. In its first year, Proyecto Global developed a sensitization program in coordination with DIGEBI that was conducted in 11 departments (i.e., administrative units akin to state or counties) throughout the country. This program was ended when USAID/Guatemala requested that Proyecto Global focus its efforts on a single department: El Quiché. The project then intended to begin such workshops once the creation of social communication materials (for use in communities) was complete. However, the prolonged length of the Situational Assessment and its academic findings considerably slowed the process of developing social communication materials. Thus, when an invitation to begin sensitization work appeared early in year three, Proyecto Global took advantage of it. Proyecto Global's Quiché coordinator received this "invitation" while organizing teachers' manual training sessions in fall 1999: A member of the community of Tzununul (in the department of El Quiché) approached her with a request for organizing and leading community-sensitizing workshops that would raise the awareness of the community about the importance of girls' and women's education and female literacy.

To respond to this request and begin sensitization work in El Quiché, Proyecto Global's Quiché staff began to work with Comunidad Mayas Alfabetizadas (Community of Literate Mayans, or COMAL). Over the first few months of 2000, the staff held various meetings with community representatives of Tzununul, a school committee, auxiliary mayors, and parents. Ostensibly these meetings were for the staff to make presentations about Proyecto Global and to ensure that all community stakeholders were aware of what the workshops would do and "bought in" to the idea. Concurrently, these meetings allowed the Proyecto Global staff to evaluate whether conducting sensitizing workshops in the community would be worthwhile and had any chance of success.

As Proyecto Global began to develop a relationship with Tzununul, it repeated this same pattern of presentation and investigation in several other communities in the Quiché region. Although time-consuming, carefully selecting the communities was crucial because many were not predisposed to support any work related to girls' education—a term considered by many indigenous parents to be a government euphemism for teaching girls about family planning or sexuality. Working in communities predisposed against any girls' education efforts would be a tremendous expenditure of time and resources without much probability of a positive return. The difficulty and expense can be immediately appreciated when one realizes that most indigenous communities in El Quiché are not easily accessible during good weather and many are not accessible at all during bad weather, have no means of communication with the outside world other than physically carried messages, and must adjust their schedule to the farming calendar and climate changes. Thus a workshop may be cancelled without warning if a community needs suddenly to work extended hours in the fields, even though Proyecto Global staff may have spent a week pre-arranging a community meeting and three hours driving and two hours hiking to reach a community for the meeting.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff ultimately approached 22 communities, offering to organize community-sensitizing workshops. Five rejected the offer outright. Several others were wary about agreeing to such workshops because of their traditional cultural norms and the economic need for children to work in the home and fields. In the end, the Proyecto Global Quiché staff worked in 15 Quiché communities: Chupoj II, Laguna Seca I, San Francisco, Chipacá I, Mactzul II, Parraxtut, Tzununul, Chiaj, Chujip, Sac Xac, Xeul Xebaquit, Xebaquit, Pachó Chicalté, Panajxit I, and Panajxit II. The communities in which the most work was done are profiled in Table 5.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff gave a general presentation for the initial meeting with new communities, then followed a flexible format for subsequent workshops. The staff adapted their presentations and workshops to the needs of individual communities and encouraged community participation in shaping the meetings' agendas. The staff were able to be extremely flexible because they were fluent enough in K'iche', the local Mayan language, and comfortable enough with the culture to couch their presentations in Mayan metaphors and terms that resonated with both indigenous men and women. The staff also did not need to create all new materials but were able to use materials that had been developed in the project's first year-long sensitization program with DIGEBI. The staff did not invite any particular participants to these workshops. Instead the workshops were held at the end of regular community assemblies and meetings, and everyone in the community was invited to attend. Often several generations would be present.

For each sensitizing workshop, the staff led guided explorations by using interactive and dynamic materials (e.g., creating murals from cut out pictures, drawing maps of the community, discussing selected images of gender inequality and equality). These guided explorations were meant to (1) explore topics of interest to the community and topics of gender sensitivity, (2) encourage community participants to reflect on local factors limiting girls' primary school completion, and (3) identify community-based initiatives that could improve the situation. For example, the Pachó Chicalté community conducted a "study" of how much work men and women do daily. Other guided explorations included examining parents' expectations for their sons and daughters, considering the role of the community's school and the problems it faces, and mentally touring a map of the community and

Table 5.-Profile of Communities Where Proyecto Global Accomplished the Most Community Work

Community	Population	Accessibility	Public services	Comments
Tzununul	1,200 (of which about 630 are school-age children and 146 are literate adults)	12 km by dirt road from nearest town (Sacapulas) and 52 km from Santa Cruz del Quiché, departmental capital Inaccessible when rains wash out road and bridge to community	Potable water	Community requested sensitizing workshops. Community also levied a fine on all families who do not send their girls to school.
Parraxtut	2,820 (of which about 1,370 are school-age children and 252 are literate adults)	31 km by dirt road from nearest town (Sacapulas) and 71 km from the departmental capital Nearly inaccessible when rains wash out road	Potable water, latrines, electricity, drainage	Community requested sensitizing workshops.
Panajxit	2,220 (of which about 1,040 are school-age children and 628 are literate adults)	7.5 km, mostly by dirt road, from the departmental capital	Potable water, latrines, electricity, a community telephone, and some means of public transportation to outside the community	There was strong teacher participation in the development of *Sugerencias*.
San Francisco	290 (of which 141 are school-age children and 21 are literate adults)	26 kilometers, mostly by dirt road, from the departmental capital.	None	Community built its own school 11 years ago. Community requested sensitizing workshops.
Xeul Xebaquit	N.A. Small community on the scale of San Francisco	About 16 km, mostly by dirt road, from the nearest city (Chichicastenango)	None	Community organized the construction of a primary school (grades 1–3) so that children would not have to walk an hour to the next nearest school. The community's men manually hewed space for the school out of 12 feet of solid rock with assistance (army manual labor).
Chipacá I	1,290 (of which 637 are school-age children and 204 are literate adults)	20 km, mostly by dirt road, from nearest city (Chichicastenango) and 32 km from the departmental capital	Potable water, drainage	There was strong teacher participation in the development of *Sugerencias*.

explaining problems encountered in different locales. After these explorations, staff structured the workshops to help the participants select a course of action to address identified problems and organize themselves to undertake and monitor their community-based initiatives with GEA technical support, the prospect of outside funding support, and self-generated resources.

Over time, participating communities' support for sensitizing workshops increased, as did their rates of school enrollment for girls, according to Proyecto Global's Quiché staff. However, no enrollment statistics were collected as follow-ups to the monthly or occasional workshops, and no other measurement was attempted. Schoolteachers interviewed in participating communities did, however, indicate that they observed an increase in girls' enrollment and persistence.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff also noted that over the course of these community workshops, the language of the participants changed. Many participants stopped using the masculine-general term *los niños* (the boys) to refer to all children and began to use the gender-equal phrase *los niños y las niñas* (the boys and girls). Some families also began to speak of the possibility of sending their daughters to middle school—a high level of education for women in rural communities.

Besides such changes in *how* people talked, *who* talked in these communities also changed. Most noticeably, women began to speak in public. In many parts of rural Guatemala, women are traditionally not allowed to participate in community meetings or offer public opinions. In the communities that participated in the sensitizing workshops, both men and women were encouraged to voice their feelings and perspectives. Not only did this make women feel empowered and feel engaged with a larger world, but it also promoted dialogue between men and women. Such examples of female community-level participation and greater gender equality are believed to encourage girls' education by giving young girls reason to think about and learn about the world.

The most evident change in attitude in the course of these sensitizing workshops occurred in Tzununul. The community of Tzununul imposes a fine of 25 Quetzales or perhaps even jail time for families who do not send their daughters to school. This community is also thinking about how to build a middle school and how to help migrant families leave their children in the community to continue their schooling when the rest of the families go to the coast to harvest crops in the spring.

Given the success in this handful of participating communities and the regional interest of NGOs (such as FUNRURAL, a coffee growers' private foundation, and CARE) in community-sensitizing activities, the project decided to document its experiences and techniques in a community participation manual. The project contracted with Erin Sologaistoa from the Florida-based Grupo de Apoyo a la Educación de la Mujer (GAEM) to document the staff's participatory learning activities. Sologaistoa completed a draft of the manual in October 2000, and the Proyecto Global staff supplemented and amplified the draft with further details, images, and materials to assist community facilitators.[19] In September 2001, after the manual was approved by USAID, Proyecto Global held a workshop to disseminate the manual and conduct training in its use to organizations such as PAEBI, the Ministry of Education's Office of Departmental Education (DDE in Spanish), and a variety of local NGOs. It is hoped that NGOs and governmental groups will begin using the manual. This seems very possible given the degree of interest and support that PAEBI, CARE, IXMUCANE, CONALFA, and UNICEF, among others, have expressed in the development of the manual. In addition, there has been some government support. DDE required all CTAs in the department of El Quiché to attend a presentation on the community participation guide in 2000. Moreover, the Ministry invited the Governor of El Quiché to attend, which he did.

SOCIAL COMMUNICATION MATERIALS

Part of the project's original plan was to have Dr. Richards's Situational Assessment provide a foundation for the development of social communication materials that could promote the cause of girls' education and be used in community interventions (such as the community-sensitizing workshops). The development of social communication materials progressed slowly because of the time the Situational Assessment took up and because the assessment's findings did not recommend a particular strategy. The development of social communication materials can be said to have properly begun when Leo Burnet, a private advertisement firm in Guatemala City, became interested in promoting girls' education and offered to develop a campaign to promote the cause.

The firm devoted staff time to brainstorm a campaign. Its commercial experience suggested that a campaign based on variations around the phrase "If I were your daughter, you would…" would be catchy and effective. Leo Burnet selected several slogans:

- "If I were your daughter, you would know my language and traditions and would teach me better."
- "If I were your daughter, you would encourage me to participate in class."
- "If I were your daughter, you would prepare each lesson with love."

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[19] *Guía Para la Participación Comunitaria en la Educación de la Niña* (Guatemala 2001). Also see Sologaistoa, E. (2000). *Engaging civil society action in support of girls' education in El Quiché* (Proyecto Global para la Educación de la Niña, Santa Cruz del Quiché, Guatemala, August 8, 2000—October 3, 2000).

- "If I were your daughter, you would help me stay in school."
- "If I were your daughter, you wouldn't think twice about supporting me to stay in school."

Each slogan was paired with an image of a smiling indigenous girl and information on how to contribute Q 25 monthly to support scholarships for rural girls. The leader of this campaign at Leo Burnet explained that his group designed this campaign to raise the level of urban consciousness and to inform the middle- and upper-class urban population of the existence of scholarships and of ways they could support the cause of indigenous girls' education.

Leo Burnet recommended that AEN coordinate and launch a media campaign with these ads for six to eight weeks on local and cable TV, on the radio, in newspapers, and on billboards and follow up every other month for eight months. It estimated the cost of the initial campaign at $214,000, with $637,000 for the follow-up. Leo Burnet expected that if it developed these materials *pro bono*, AEN would be able to line up other companies or organizations to pay for or underwrite commercial airtime and newspaper advertisement space. But such financial support from other parts of the private sector or NGOs was not forthcoming.

By mid-2000, it was apparent that Leo Burnet's contributions were not being optimized. Moreover, with AEN in a transitional phase, it was clear that media and public relations would not be efficiently coordinated any time soon. About this time, staff at USAID/Guatemala recommended that Proyecto Global hire a private consulting firm—Gish Paz Associates—to develop social communication materials parallel to the work of Leo Burnet. Proyecto Global contracted with this firm in summer 2000.

The consultant in charge of the activity undertook substantial research to learn how the indigenous communities in Quiché view girls' education. Unlike Richards's Situational Assessment, which looked at cultural concepts and habits, the Gish Paz work focused on identifying barriers to girls' entering or remaining in school that a social communication campaign could address. On the basis of extensive community interviews, Gish Paz identified three distinct audiences:

1. Parents who were already sending their daughters to school but whose support for their daughters' schooling was not solid
2. Parents who were not sending school-age children to school
3. Girls on the brink of leaving school because they felt too old to be in school

In addition, this research revealed that separate messages should be addressed to mothers and fathers. Thus Gish Paz developed different social communications materials (posters and radio spots) for five targeted audiences: mothers with daughters in school, fathers with daughters in school, mothers with daughters not in school, fathers with daughters not in school, and girls on the brink of leaving school.

Radio spots, which were written as short vignettes, were designed specifically for rural communities. All spots were produced in two languages, Spanish and K'iche'. The consultant also made an extensive effort to meet with a broad range of NGOs working in El Quiché to discuss the communications materials and has piqued their interest in disseminating the materials themselves in the future.

The Gish Paz materials aired in El Quiché in February 2001, about the time when parents were enrolling their children in school for the new academic year. The cost of the radio spots was shared by Proyecto Global and the radio stations that aired them. The impact of the radio spots, however, was not measured. The limited airtime of the campaign undoubtedly mitigated its effectiveness somewhat, since migrant families enroll their children in school throughout the year. Still, despite the lack of systematic measurements, Gish Paz is confident that girls' enrollment rates in El Quiché schools increased after the radio spots were aired because of the strong, positive reactions that the spots received when they were pilot tested with rural communities. These spots led to spirited discussions in focus groups and inspired parents in the focus groups to become passionate about the idea of enrolling their daughters in school.

The future of these spots is unclear, but they may still be used for future promotional campaigns or as part of community-sensitizing workshops if PAEBI or CARE receive copies of them.

Gish Paz also produced posters, a game, and several dozen stories to be used with children to nurture the idea that schooling is important. All of these materials incorporate the same social communication messages developed out of the community interviews and pilot-test groups. These materials to date have not yet been approved by USAID; when they are approved, they will be turned over to AEN to be reproduced and used for its communication activities throughout the country.

SCHOLARSHIPS

One of the most persistent barriers to indigenous girls' education is the poverty of indigenous families who rely on their children's labor to make ends meet. Girls from the age of 8 are valuable family resources who typically can sew and embroider products for sale, as well as take care of livestock, wash, cook, haul water, and tend younger children. Girls' schooling not only deprives indigenous families of such labor, but also taxes a family's budget to pay for school materials. School materials can cost between $5.00 and $17.00 at the beginning of the school year—a great deal for a rural farmer who earns between $1.70 and $3.40 a day.

To show a way to address this economic barrier, AGES piloted a scholarship program in the 1980s that paid families about $4.00 a month to compensate for their daughter's lost wages and to help pay for the cost of schooling. For each community in which girls received scholarships, AGES also assigned or hired a "promoter" to support families and provide training on the value of an education. This combination of funding and support proved very successful: Evaluations of the girls who received scholarships found their attendance, promotion, and completion rates higher than those of the control groups and the overall national statistics.[20]

On the basis of the success of AGES's girls' scholarship program in Guatemala in the 1980s, the Ministry of Education launched a similar scholarship program in 1994. The goal was to increase the enrollment of one "generation" of poor, indigenous girls in primary schools. The Ministry planned to provide scholarships for three cohorts of girls, for a total of 36,000 girls overall, who would become a model generation of educated women in the future. Initially, the government offered families Q 25 a month (US$3.33).

The success of the Ministry's program (Programa de becas para niñas indígenas del área rural) was limited—the Ministry gave out only 600 scholarships in the first year—because it was not able to inform families about the available scholarships or to distribute the funds effectively. The Ministry therefore contracted with the coffee growers' private foundation, FUNRURAL, and AEN to administer the program, which was reorganized and renamed Programa de becas para niñas del área rural. FUNRURAL had the advantage of pre-existing and extensive community networks throughout the country. AEN was to hire promoters to provide family and community support for the scholarship program. The contract was signed in 1996, and FUNRURAL distributed funds to its first cohort of scholarship recipients in 1997. The project supported 27,000 girls in its first year—approximately 6,800 in the Department of El Quiché—and 50,000 in total by the end of the three-year period.

Pursuing BEST/GEP's emphasis and work on scholarships, Proyecto Global hired a consultant, María Antonieta Delpino, in 1999 to evaluate the FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program in El Quiché. The purpose of the evaluation was to document the success of the program and indicate to the Ministry the desirability of expanding this program to more girls and more communities. Delpino found that the program had measurable impacts on scholarship recipients, particularly on girls' attendance, promotion, aspirations in life, and self-esteem, which included a greater sense of security, the ability to express oneself, and the ability to develop new relationships. Her evaluation also found that the program increased parents' appreciation of girls' education and its ability to improve the economic status of families.[21]

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[20] USAID Center for Development Information and Evaluation. (1999, July). *Impact evaluation: Improving girls' education in Guatemala.* Washington, DC: Author, p. 7.

At the same time, though, the evaluation revealed that the administrating parties, the government, and the schools had not kept records of how long the girls had received scholarships or of what happened to girls who received scholarships after their scholarship ended. Reportedly, no parties wanted to be held accountable for the program or for what the scholarships achieved. The evaluation also revealed that teachers in schools with girls on scholarship (1) were not always aware which girls had received a scholarship, (2) did not generally have sufficient sensitivity to the aims of the scholarship program, and (3) were not aware that their own conduct and teaching perpetuated stereotypical gender roles.[22] Similarly, the evaluation found that community members were often unaware that girls in their community were receiving scholarships and did not understand the purpose of scholarships. This situation makes it hard to assess whether scholarships have encouraged the idea of girls' education in the community.

When the FUNRURAL-AEN-administered scholarship program ended in 2000, the Ministry replaced it with two new scholarship programs: Scholarships for Rural Girls, which provides scholarships for at-risk girls between the ages of 6 and 14, and Scholarships for Peace, which provides the same type of scholarships for boys and girls from rural or suburban areas. To qualify for these programs, girls and boys must have been abandoned or orphaned, have single mothers, have fathers who are unable to work, have parents who are migrant workers, or, in the case of girls, live in families with mostly male children. These programs are administered directly by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with community-level school committees, which must be legally established by the community and are then responsible for applying for scholarships and administering them locally.

The continuation of the scholarship program demonstrates some continued governmental commitment to education in rural areas but with a de-emphasis on rural girls. Ending the partnership with FUNRURAL and AEN means losing business skills, direct access to communities in rural areas, and social work to support the program. Local administration of the new scholarship program also means that it will be even more difficult to monitor processes and program outcomes in the future.

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[21] Delpino, M. A. (1999, October). *Informe evaluación del "Programa de Becas para Niñas del Area Rural" en Guatemala.*

[22] Delpino, M. A. (1999, October). *Informe evaluación del "Programa de Becas para Niñas del Area Rural" en Guatemala*, pp. 26–28.

NATIONAL NETWORKS AND CONFERENCES

Although Proyecto Global did not orchestrate or lead any networks to coordinate different groups' efforts to promote girls' education nationally, it did participate in two networks meant to coordinate such efforts: JICA's Red de Información y Coordinación de Educación de la Niña (Network of Information and Coordination on Girls' Education) and AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional (National Effort).

JICA's Red de Información y Coordinación has included among its members, in addition to Proyecto Global, AEN, Fundación Castillo Córdova, Fundazúcar, FUNRURAL, Tierra Viva, DIGEBI, PRONADE, SIMAC, USAID, UNESCO, Universidad del Valle, UCONME, BEZACHI, CEDRO, CNEM, Comité Beijing, Congreso de la República, Consejo de Lectura, Cuerpo de Paz, Fe y Alegría, Intervida, Mother Care, PERA, Talita Kumi, and Visión Mundial. The network still exists.

AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional included, in addition to Proyecto Global, representatives from Fundación Castillo Córdova, Fundazúcar, FUNRURAL, Tierra Viva, DIGEBI, PRONADE, SIMAC, USAID, UNICEF, Universidad Francisco Marroquín, Canal 7, El Periódico, Prensa Libre, Fundación G&T, Colegio Pierre Mont, Colegio Suizo Americano, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, Ministerio de Economía, Ministerio de Trabajo, Minugua, ODHAG, CARE, and QUILSA. This network was created in November 2000 to promote multi-sectoral involvement in girls' education. However, its effectiveness was very limited, and Proyecto Global was no longer actively involved by summer 2001.

Besides these networks, Proyecto Global also helped organize several conferences—specifically, the 2000 Encuentro Cultural del Fortalecimiento de la Cultura Maya (Forum for the Reinforcement of Mayan Culture), the 2000 First Boys' and Girls' National Forum, and the 2000 Third Girls' Education Forum (or Third "Encuentro"). Proyecto Global also participated in the 1998 international conference, Educating Girls: A Development Imperative.

ANALYSIS OF SYSTEMIC CHANGES IN GIRLS' EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA

The purpose of the Girls' Education Activity is to support countries in their efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level. This often requires changes in policies at the national, regional, and local levels as well as in the infrastructure to implement those policies and change practices. For Proyecto Global, the specific goals of the change process are to *(1) improve girls' access to and completion of primary school and (2) improve the school environment for girls, particularly for indigenous girls and girls in rural areas.* This section of the report uses MSI's CFAC to analyze GEA's accomplishments in stimulating organizational and socio-political change in Guatemala. They have been organized according to the six tasks in CFAC presented in Section II.

The Legitimization of Policies and Practices in Support of Girls' Education (Task 1)

The initial step in the CFAC is the legitimization of the desired systemic change. Legitimization is the process by which people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of a policy idea—that is, essential opinion leaders—declare publicly that a policy is important to pursue. This is the first step in the policy change process and an absolute prerequisite for building larger constituencies and accumulating resources in support of change. For GEA projects, two policy dimensions needed to be legitimized: (1) the overall systemic change goals and (2) the GEA organization as an appropriate facilitator (though not central agent) in the change process.

In Guatemala, essential opinion leaders at the national level have included the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Culture, prominent politicians, major bilateral and multilateral agencies (e.g., JICA, CARE, UNICEF), and educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community (e.g., Fe y Alegría, Tierra Viva, PRONADE). At the regional level, these have included the Office of Departmental Education (DDE) and its CTAs and the DIGEBI division, regional politicians, and regional educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community (e.g., IXMUCANE, ADESCO). At the local level, these have included community elders and governing committees, teachers, and perhaps prominent community members.

Proyecto Global was able to contact the great majority of these groups, but had varying degrees of success in convincing them to embrace the policy of promoting girls' education and to recognize Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy. At the national level, the Ministry of Education (including SIMAC and DIGEBI) officially committed itself to this policy and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator. However, it is important to recognize that two Ministers have held the position since 1997, each evincing different levels of support, and that institutional action has not followed rhetorical support (e.g., the two official Ministry positions created to promote girls' education have not been filled since the government elected in 2000 came into power). It is also important to realize that the Ministry's commitment and recognition were in large part (1) because Proyecto Global followed the BEST project, which had legitimized both a girls' education policy in Guatemala and USAID's facilitating role, and (2) because the government of Guatemala had participated in the Common Agenda and agreed to work with Japan and the United States to promote girls' education.

Despite fluctuating degrees of support from the Ministry, at no time at the national level has any prominent politician made girls' education a *cause célèbre*. This is not surprising in a country just emerging from decades of civil conflict. Education is not a high social priority compared with economic growth, financial stability, and infrastructure development.

Proyecto Global seemed to gain tacit approval for the policy from UNICEF and CARE, which share an appreciation of the importance of girls' education. However, JICA did not fully support Proyecto Global's efforts, probably because of USAID's failure to cooperate with JICA, as originally envisioned in the Common Agenda, and Proyecto Global's different, and perhaps sometimes competing, approach to the same policy objective. Among national NGOs, AEN recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy when the project began. However, AEN's effective leadership collapsed when the wife of the mayor of Guatemala City left soon after Proyecto Global began, which undermined AEN's ability to be an opinion leader. Unfortunately, subsequent AEN leadership did not fully support Proyecto Global's efforts. A number of major national educational and women's advocates in the NGO community, such as Fe y Alegría, PRONADE, Baha'i, and AGES, also appreciated Proyecto Global's policy goal and valued its work. However, a surprising number, such as Tierra Viva, Bancafé, and Fundación G&T, seemed only vaguely aware of Proyecto Global's policy goal or its work toward that goal, even though Tierra Viva was a member of the same national networks. Hence, these groups were largely untapped resources for legitimizing the project.

At the departmental level, the Quiché DDE legitimized Proyecto Global's teacher training work. At the beginning of the series of teacher workshops to revise *La Creación* into *Sugerencias* in fall 1999, a DDE representative paid an "unsolicited visit" to give the teachers a 30-minute "pep talk" and encourage their work with Proyecto Global, which a project monitor felt "demonstrate[d] [an] acknowledgment of World Learning's work and of the Girls' Project in particular."[23] In addition, the Quiché CTA sent representatives to participate in and assist these workshops. DIGEBI introduced the Quiché Proyecto Global staff to Quiché community leaders, which provided crucial legitimization at the start of the community-sensitizing work. It was not possible to sort out whether such official support arose from a commitment to girls' education or from the realization that the work of Proyecto Global helped DDE, CTA, and DIGEBI achieve their own institutional goals.

Some regional educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community, such as IXMUCANE, were unaware of Proyecto Global and their shared policy goals. As on the national level, these resources went untapped.

At the local level, community elders and governing committees—in each community that was willing to work with Proyecto Global—accepted the importance of the policy of promoting girls' education and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy. They did so in large part because Proyecto Global staff were introduced to them by DIGEBI and hence were already legitimized.

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[23] Cusic, R. (1999). *GEA trip report (October 25—November 11, 1999)*, p. 2.

It is also crucial to recognize that Proyecto Global did not work in any community that had any opposition to the policy or reluctance to work with Proyecto Global's Quiché staff.

Building a Lasting Girls' Education Constituency (Task 2)

Building on legitimization, the CFAC identifies constituency building as the next step in the process. Constituency building is the task of creating stakeholders—those who appreciate the problem of girls' education, believe that they would benefit from the problem's solution, and are thus willing to invest personal and organizational resources in support of a project or policy to promote girls' education. Proyecto Global pursued different strategies to build constituencies and, as with legitimization, had varying levels of success.

At the national level, besides presenting at forums and conferences to generate publicity for its work and the need to support girls' education in general, Proyecto Global actively worked to increase private sector involvement in girls' education. In 1999, Proyecto Global assisted AEN in developing and preparing promotional packages designed to interest private companies in funding the Girls' Scholarship program.[24] These efforts, however, produced limited results. According to the GEA Country Coordinator, the private sector in Guatemala is not traditionally predisposed to support such work. In July 2001, however, Proyecto Global again tried to generate private sector interest through four breakfasts at which business leaders learned how they could underwrite social communication materials and the project's *Sugerencias* and its Community Guide. Because these efforts came at the very end of the project, it is unclear whether they will have any results.

Proyecto Global did not create networks to promote girls' education, but it did participate in two networks—the Red de Información y Coordinación and AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional. Although these networks were meant to coordinate efforts to promote girls' education, NGOs complained that national efforts suffered from a lack of coordination. Part of the problem, however, may have been institutional and personal reluctance to cooperate in any network, a societal trait that both GEA staff and some NGO staff attributed to Guatemala's decades of civil conflict and its debilitating effects on public trust.

Proyecto Global did not reach out to the national press, which would have been a natural constituency. *Prensa Libre*, in particular, would have made a good ally and stakeholder because it runs an extensive campaign to promote literacy and primary education in the country through inserts in its papers. Neither the liberal nor the conservative press in Guatemala City was familiar with Proyecto Global or with any girls' education project.

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[24] Cusic, R. (1999). *GEA trip report (October 25—November 11, 1999)*, p. 6.

At the regional level, Proyecto Global did little to create stakeholders. Limited or no efforts were made to involve regional politicians, and a plan to organize regional NGOs into a regional network was never realized. Moreover, the radio spots that were to generate public support for the project's policy in El Quiché were aired only a few times during one month.

Proyecto Global's constituency-building efforts primarily focused on the local level. Proyecto Global very effectively made bilingual teachers and the CTA into stakeholders by (1) organizing them to participate in the development of the teacher-training manual and (2) allowing them ultimately to have control over the presentation of the manual's content—which gave this group a sense of real authorship. Proyecto Global Quiché staff formed an informal consultative group in El Quiché composed of 20 local NGOs and Ministry of Education departmental entities who became more engaged in promoting girls' education. Proyecto Global's Quiché staff also successfully created stakeholders in participating communities by (a) offering real services to the communities, such as modeling problem-solving skills and facilitating real community problem solving; (b) using the communities' own language, Ki'che'; and (c) carefully involving the community's governing body, the community's parent group, and the community's teachers simultaneously so that no one felt overlooked or slighted. Again, it is important to reiterate that Proyecto Global did not work in communities where there was any opposition to the policy or reluctance to work with Proyecto Global's Quiché staff.

Realigning and Mobilizing Resources in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 3)

Proyecto Global had limited success in acquiring and mobilizing financial and in-kind organizational support for the project's teacher training, community workshop, and social communication initiatives. Juarez & Associates estimates that the total financial support for girls' education activities between 1997 and 2001 from Guatemala's civil society was \$6 million (USD) and from Guatemala's government was about \$6.5 million, with about \$6.3 million of these funds going to scholarship programs.[25] However, the largest contribution of financial resources to Proyecto Global was Leo Burnet's *pro bono* work to develop the social communication materials for a campaign to promote girls' education.

Proyecto Global had much more success in accumulating human and institutional capital. Most prominently, Proyecto Global's series of workshops to develop *Sugerencias* motivated participating teachers to try *dinámicas* in their classrooms, report their successes, and thereby build an expertise among those teachers in how to incorporate interactive and dynamic teaching methods into regular classroom instruction. These teachers will be able to train the Ministry staff in how to effectively use *Sugerencias* and, perhaps most invaluably, can provide teacher testimonials to persuade other teachers to seriously consider using *Sugerencias* in their own classrooms.

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[25] See forthcoming report by Dr. Ray Chesterfield. Note that this amount is probably more reliable than the amount estimated by a consultant hired by Proyecto Global, who estimated Guatemalan financial contributions, including the government, at about \$41 million (USD). Private sector financial support for girls' education apparently came from AEN, FUNRURAL, Fundación Marinano Castillo Córdova, Comunidad Baha'i, AGES, Fundaniña, Fe y Alegría, Fundación Rigoberta Menchu Tun, Tierra Viva, Amigos del Pais, Banco Industrial, Fundación Castillo Love, ALMG, ASINDES, CDRO, Plan International, Niños Refugiados del Mundo, SHARE, Escuelas Sin Fronteras, Bell South Proniño, and Grupo del Apoyo Mutuo (GAM).

Similarly, the community-sensitizing workshops built up human capital in the form of pockets of localized expertise in how to solve community problems through consensual participatory methods and how to argue the merits and advantages of supporting girls' education. Such communities can, to a certain extent, serve as models for community work, although it is unclear how effective the same methods would be in a community that is not predisposed to receive promoters of girls' education. They can also provide testimonials about the value of embracing girls' education as a community policy.

Gish Paz's research accumulated institutional resources to the extent that it provided a model of an effective method—meeting with target audiences to learn their concerns about an issue and then pilot testing materials with them to gauge their responses to different materials. The research also revealed that parental audiences should be addressed differently—mothers versus fathers and families who send their children to school versus those who do not. Whether the airing of the Gish Paz radio spots resonated with indigenous parents and accumulated any public support for girls' education is impossible to say because no follow-up measurement was conducted.

Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 4)

According to MSI's CFAC, one way to determine the success of a policy change effort is to examine the extent to which structures are created or modified as a result of the mobilization of resources. Change can be an internal or an external phenomenon. It may include changes in the structures of organizations that have been mobilized to support girls' education as well as the creation of new structures to support girls' education. Change can also be at different levels, from changes in individual organizations to changes in homes, classrooms, schools, and communities, to changes in local, regional, and national policy regimes.

At the organizational level, it is unclear whether girls' education activities over the past few years in Guatemala have had much, if any, impact on the structures of the organizations working to promote girls' education. Organizations that participate actively in national and regional network activities were previously sympathetic to issues related to basic or girls' education and have not transformed their underlying missions or basic policies as a result of Proyecto Global's activities. The Ministry of Education did create two official positions to promote girls' education, but the individuals in these positions were not granted any authority or given funding to make changes.

In communities that sent teachers to help develop *Sugerencias*, classroom practices have reportedly changed in ways that will keep more girls coming to school and help more girls advance through the grades at the expected pace.[26] Also, the community of Tzununul has changed its regulations; parents who do not send their daughters to school are fined or face jail time. Additional changes, especially in homes and schools, may have occurred that we were not able to observe or learn about.

Designing and Mobilizing Action in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 5)

A basic assumption of the Girls' Education Activity is that project offices in each country facilitate change on behalf of girls' education instead of being the direct agents of change. Projects are supposed to assist other organizations, produce tools, and mobilize leaders and communities to improve girls' education rather than provide extensive funding or be extensively involved in program implementation. This model places an onus on country coordinators and project staff to creatively leverage resources. Proyecto Global's successes in mobilizing resources were constrained by its limited accumulation of sources.

The government's ambivalent support for girls' education was especially problematic. Although the Ministry of Education officially committed itself to promoting girls' education as a policy and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy, the government did not fund or assist the work of girls' education as fully as it promised it would. It is important to recognize that BEST had encountered the same pattern when it received from the Ministry of Education financial commitments that were never fulfilled.

Proyecto Global was able to mobilize the Ministry of Education to send staff to become trained in the uses of *Sugerencias*, which may eventually lead to its inclusion in the Ministry's teacher training programs. However, it remains to be seen to what extent *Sugerencias* becomes institutionalized.

Proyecto Global's lack of accumulated financial support and connections with the private sector meant that it was not able to mobilize support for the Leo Burnet advertisement campaign, for the Gish Paz radio spots, or for the printing costs of *Sugerencias* or the community participation manual.

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[26] Data collected for Juarez & Associates found no statistically discernible changes in student-teacher interactions or in girls' participation rates, on average, for these schools to confirm these anecdotal reports. However, no classroom-level / teacher-specific data were collected.

Monitoring the Progress of Systemic Change (Task 6)

The last CFAC task addresses monitoring the impact as a key element of sustained change management. This dimension is important because an effective monitoring system provides formative information to (1) guide future actions (i.e., mobilize resources and design and modify organizational structures) that support a policy goal and (2) increase legitimacy, build constituencies, and accumulate resources if an initiative has been successful in achieving its policy objectives. In short, effective monitoring provides an important feedback loop to all the other dimensions of the policy change process.

In Guatemala, the monitoring of impacts was limited to the evaluation of the FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program in El Quiché and to a study of the number of NGOs and public sector organizations that allocated resources to support girls' education. Both were requested by USAID. Even these, however, were limited because neither FUNRURAL nor the government collected data on the girls who received scholarships and because NGOs were reluctant to divulge how much time and financial resources they devoted to support girls' education.

Proyecto Global staff proposed additional monitoring to validate the Gish Paz radio spots,[27] however, it was decided that various NGOs in El Quiché would conduct such monitoring. In the end, no monitoring occurred because at the time the spots aired, NGOs were not ready to follow through with monitoring.

GEA made varying degrees of progress in the Framework's Tasks 1, 2, and 3. However, the constituency for girls' education in Guatemala remains limited to certain sectors of society and, even in El Quiché , is robust only in pockets where there was community work. In large measure, the political and economic concerns of a country coming out of 36 years of civil conflict continue to eclipse concerns about girls' education. For the Framework's Tasks 4, 5, and 6, much work remains to be done. In particular, effective means of mobilizing action and instituting monitoring systems must be developed if Guatemala is to sustain a movement to promote girls' education.

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[27] Tomasa Bulux called for monitoring and discussed with Rebecca Cusic the idea of "monitoring the use of the teacher manual for the 2000 school year and putting together a baseline." See Cusic, R. (1999). *GEA trip report (October 25—November 11, 1999)*, p. 6.

Section III-B: Changing Girls' Education in Morocco

THE MOROCCAN EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT PRIOR TO GEA

Morocco's recent elections and the ascension of King Mohammed VI have created popular enthusiasm and optimism for socioeconomic growth and educational reform. But despite the optimism, conditions remain difficult: 55 percent of rural households have no electricity or potable water; 48 percent of the population is illiterate; and illiteracy is as high as 75 percent in rural areas and 89 percent among rural women. In rural areas, the total fertility rate is estimated to be 4.1 children per woman.[28]

Morocco's education system requires increases in access and quality that have outstripped the government's ability to finance and administer, particularly in rural areas where the need is most acute. For example, in 1989, 22 percent of small villages had no access to nearby schools. Only 15 percent of the middle schools (grades 7–9) were located in rural areas, and no secondary schools were located in rural areas at that time.

Although 60 percent of girls at age 7 were entering primary school in 1989, only 40 percent were completing the sixth year.[29] Moreover, by the early 1990s, the percentage of girls attending primary school was skewed toward urban areas, with rural areas lagging seriously behind.

The government of Morocco undertook two new initiatives in the early 1990s. The government organized mobilization campaigns in rural areas to promote parents' awareness of the importance of enrolling their children in school and keeping them there. It also finished constructing satellite schools, which were supposed to be in all villages of more than 300 people. A completed satellite school consists of two classrooms and three teachers and provides instruction for grades 1–6. The expansion effort resulted in 280 new autonomous schools, 24 of which were rural; 469 nucleus schools, which have lower-grade schools nearby that feed students into them; and 1,594 satellite schools (i.e., rural schools, grade 1–6, that are overseen by an urban or semi-urban school system but do not have any on-site administration). An additional 6,947 classrooms were built (a 12.5 percent increase).

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[28] This section is adapted from Williams, H. (2001). *Case studies in multisectoral strategies for advancing girls' education.* Washington, DC: AED; Muirragui, E. & Yamouri, N. (2000, May). *Across the mountains to reach the sea: Building intersectoral partnerships for girls' education in Morocco.* Paper presented at USAID Symposium on Girls' Education, Washington, DC.

[29] Muirragui, E., & Yamouri, N. 2000. (2000, May). *Across the mountains to reach the sea: Building intersectoral partnerships for girls' education in Morocco.* Paper presented at USAID Symposium on Girls' Education, Washington, DC.

By school year 1992–1993, more than 1 million girls were enrolled in primary schools. By school year 1993–1994, primary school enrollment was 58 percent of total enrollment, although that aggregate figure masked the large disparity between urban and rural enrollment rates of 89.4 percent and 36.7 percent, respectively. The disparity between boys' enrollment and girls' enrollment was especially high in the rural areas, where total enrollment was lowest: 22.3 percent for girls and 50.4 percent for boys.[30]

Morocco needed to address the following education conditions to achieve education for all:

- *Access:* Very large disparities existed between urban and rural enrollments—"two worlds" in the words of the education minister at that time. The absence of girls in the rural area schools was particularly acute.
- *Retention:* In rural areas, the dropout rates for boys and girls were 50.4 percent and 54.0 percent, respectively.
- *Attainment:* High rates of efficiency in urban areas were observed, but fewer than half of rural students—boys and girls—were completing grade 6.
- *Achievement:* Once girls entered school and were retained, their chances of succeeding were equal to those for boys.
- *Quality:* Improvements were needed, including curriculum, teacher preparation, and instructional materials.[31]

The USAID-supported partnerships identified for action the following specific barriers to girls' education:

- *Economic and social constraints:* Direct and indirect costs of schooling; poverty; traditional cultural views of women's roles; concern for girls' safety; parents' illiteracy; and family perceptions that educating girls has few benefits

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[30] Rihani, M., & Herbert, P. (1995). *Promoting girls' education in rural Morocco: Report submitted to USAID/ Morocco.* Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development/ABEL.

[31] Rihani, M., & Herbert, P. (1995). *Promoting girls' education in rural Morocco: Report submitted to USAID/ Morocco.* Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development/ABEL.

- *School-level constraints:* Lack of school infrastructure, such as water, electricity, latrines, and teacher's housing; school distance; a poor teaching and learning environment; language constraints to learning; inequitable classroom treatment of girls; and an insufficient number of female teachers[32]

OVERVIEW OF THE MOROCCO GIRLS' EDUCATION ACTIVITY

The Morocco Girls' Education Activity began in 1996 as a USAID/Morocco-supported program, implemented by Management Systems International (MSI) under a sub-contract to the American Institutes for Research (AIR) for USAID's Girls' Education Activity (GEA). GEA emphasizes support for girls in selected rural provinces, where the challenges to girls' school enrollment, retention, and completion are greatest. GEA focuses on mobilizing new partnerships among government, civil society (including NGOs), the private sector, and the media to promote and advance girls' education. This focus is an acknowledgment that education for all—but especially for girls—is unlikely to be achieved in the foreseeable future by relying solely on existing policy and service delivery structures and actors.

> GEA's vision is to rely on local capacities and the use of local resources in order to ensure sustainability and replicability of its actions and activities in support of girls' education.
>
> -GEA Quarterly Report,
> December 1997

The multi-sectoral partnering required the USAID to facilitate communication and support new relationships among individuals and entities, many of which traditionally had not worked together. The GEA team, therefore, needed to understand the social and cultural characteristics of each potential partner. A Moroccan national was selected as GEA coordinator, since social and cultural sensitivity would be at least as important as the technical requirements of GEA.

Although the Moroccan government that was elected in 1998 included opposition parties, all parties agreed that supporting educational reform was a central priority. Expectations placed on the new reform-minded government and the highly popular monarch put closing urban-rural and gender gaps at the front of socioeconomic development plans. Although the Ministry of National Education (MNE) receives 25 percent of the national budget, it became clear that the need to expand and improve education and to support girls' education required additional actors and stakeholder actions. The growth of civil society organizations (CSOs), private sector activism in public affairs, a more proactive role for media, and increased public debate on women's roles are making multi-sectoral partnerships for education overall and girls' education a new dynamic in Morocco. Additional government actions support educational reform and new partnerships:

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[32] Management Systems International. (1999). *Girls' education activity/Morocco annual report.* Washington, DC: Author.

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- Expression by King Mohammed VI (1999) of support for education reform and the promotion of women's rights
- Movement toward more decentralization, local authority, and decision-making power for local Délégations of the Ministry
- MNE publication of its approach to educational reform, "Reinventing Schools," highlighting partnerships with local communes and the private sector
- An increase in transparency in government actions, as noted by other sectors
- Pronouncement by the king that the period from 2001 through 2009 would be the Décennie de l'Education (The Education Decade) and that Education Reform is the second national priority after Territorial Integrity

Over the course of the project, GEA staff became key partners with the organizations and entities engaged in supporting girls' education, performing such tasks as process facilitation, technical leadership and support, and ongoing advocacy to reinforce the importance of girls' education within the broader context of education for all.[33]

In Morocco, robust partnerships among the government, CBOs, NGOs, businesses, and media are working on national forums and campaigns and in girls' education pilot sites in rural areas in the north and south of the country. The government has articulated a clear and public policy statement regarding the transformation of the school system. This policy has been embraced at the very highest levels in both the private and the public sectors. The government has joined with the private sector to offer large-scale support to schools that addresses the specific needs of individual schools. The media also has mobilized to raise public awareness of girls' education programs and the funds needed to support them. The organization of the GEA project is summarized graphically in Figure 2, and major project milestones are summarized in Table 6.

Project staff work to support the objectives of the Ministry of National Education (MNE), which include education for all by 2002 with a focus on disadvantaged groups, notably rural children and particularly rural girls. The Ministry is also promoting improved educational quality and policy reform. In support of these initiatives, USAID/Morocco has developed its own strategic objective of *increased attainment of basic education among girls in selected rural provinces, which includes the enabling objective of strengthened capacity and increased participation of girls' education partners.* This objective was changed in 2000 to *increased awareness of the value of girls' education.*

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[33] Williams, H. (2001). *Case studies in multisectoral strategies for advancing girls' education.* Washington, DC: AED.

Figure 2.– Organizational and Activity Map of the Morocco Girls' Education Activity

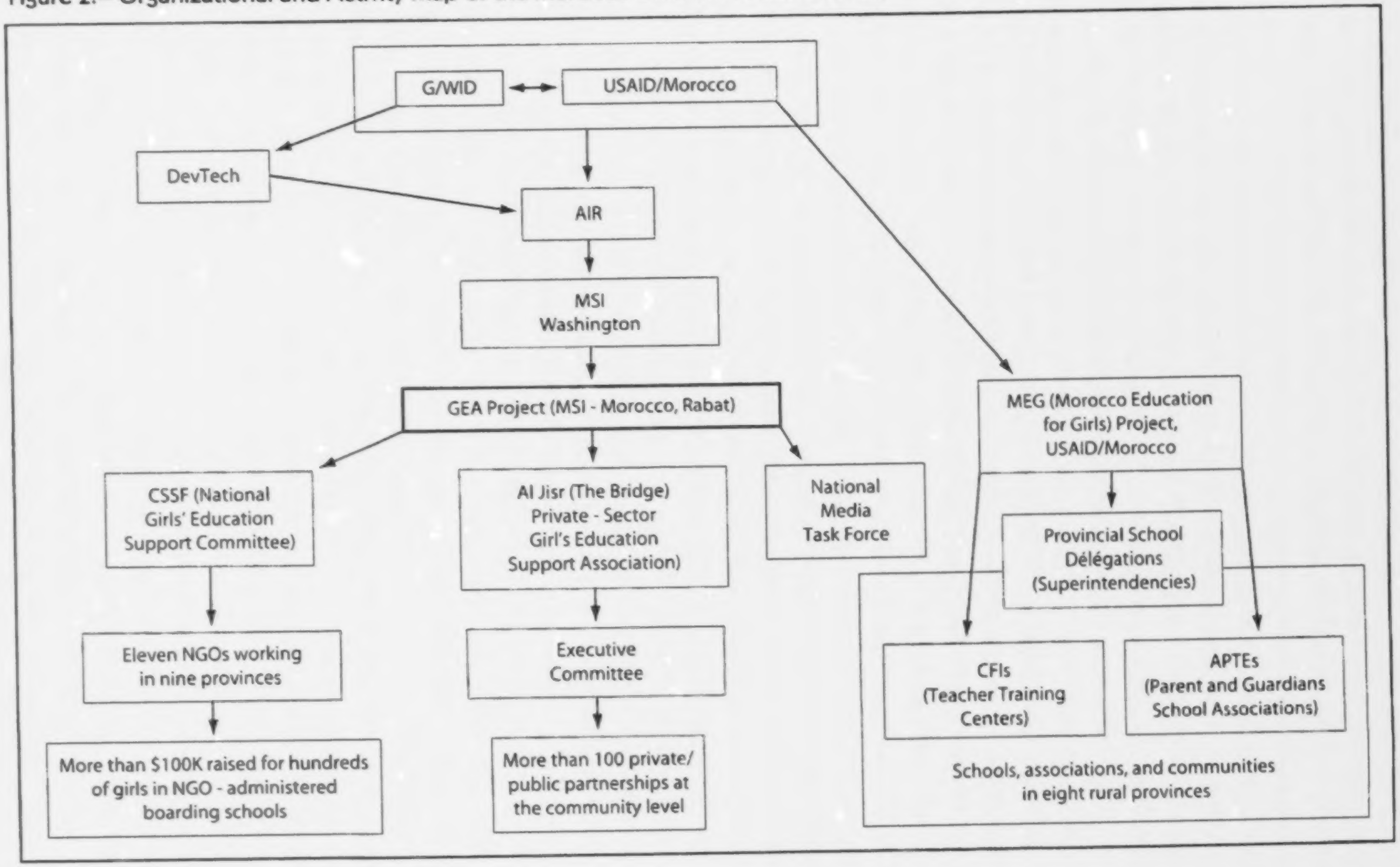
G/WID
USAID/Morocco
DevTech
AIR
MSI
Washington
GEA Project (MSI - Morocco, Rabat)
MEG (Morocco Education for Girls) Project, USAID/Morocco
CSSF (National Girls' Education Support Committee)
Al Jisr (The Bridge) Private - Sector Girl's Education Support Association)
National Media Task Force
Provincial School Délégations (Superintendencies)
Eleven NGOs working in nine provinces
Executive Committee
CFIs (Teacher Training Centers)
APTEs (Parent and Guardians School Associations)
More than $100K raised for hundreds of girls in NGO - administered boarding schools
More than 100 private/ public partnerships at the community level
Schools, associations, and communities in eight rural provinces

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Table 6.–Morocco GEA Project Time Line

1995		USAID/Morocco-supported contextual and situational analysis begins.
1996	Sept.	GWE/GEA begins.
1997	Jan.	GEA establishes methodology of national- and local-level data gathering.
	June	*Girls' Education In Morocco: State of the Art* is published.
		Constituency inventory and private-sector database are created.
	Oct.	National NGO Conference on Girls' Education convenes and action plans are formulated.
	Nov.	GEA press roundtable and radio campaigns begin.
	Dec.	Girls' Education Support Committee (CSSF) is founded.
1998	Jan.–Dec.	Girls' Education Action Plan is implemented.
		New reform-minded government presents program to parliament.
	May	International Conference on Girls' Education is held.
	June	NGO Forum-a network of NGOs-is formed.
		Royal Commission is established to draft the National Charter for Educational Reform.
	Sept.	Meetings of public-private partners begin.
	Nov.	WAFABANK pilot project begins.
	Dec.	First Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act action plan evaluation takes place.
1999	March	Private sector conference, Enterprise and Education, is held in Marrakech.
		Ministry publishes *Rehabiliter l'ecole.*
	May	CSSF launches girls' scholarship program.
	July	Private sector organization, Al Jisr (The Bridge), is founded.
		Ministry/private sector support for 600 schools begins.
	Aug.	King Hassan II dies; Mohammed VI becomes king.
	Nov.	National Charter for Educational Reform is ratified.
		Al Jisr presents a partnership approach.
		Second Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act action plan evaluation takes place.
2000	Jan.–Feb.	Media mobilization campaign begins.
		Caftan 2000-a sensitization and fund-raising event-takes place.
	March	Two large competing marches on women's rights are held.
		Communication strategy training for NGOs begins.
		Scholarship Program Quality Improvement Roundtable is initiated.
		Girls' scholarship recipients travel to the sea.
	June	Al Jisr enters partnership with National Partners in Education.
		Civil Society in the Reform of Education conference is held.
		Scholarship program undergoes a mid-term evaluation.
	Aug.	PLA training for NGO partners begins.
2001		Caftan 2001-a sensitization and fund-raising event-takes place.
		IDF training and NGO field assessments begin.

USAID/Morocco supported a contextual and situational analysis in 1995 to determine the status of girls' education, key barriers to girls, and preliminary identification of possible strategies and actions to address these barriers. The project began in 1996, and by 1997, it had enlisted potential constituents and partners who could support girls' education and had begun identifying specific sites and actions. Along with the baseline work on the status of girls' education in Morocco in 1997, GEA staff started to collect and organize information on prospective constituencies:

- A detailed inventory of NGOs working on the national and regional levels, irrespective of their focus on equity or girls' education
- A database and inventories on private sector firms, including a document titled *Qui fait quoi au Maroc* (Who does what in Morocco), published for use in GEA and partner NGO networking
- Lists of industrial firms in Rabat, the capital, and Casablanca
- A list of industrial factories in the five pilot provinces where GEA had concentrated its rural efforts

In addition, UNESCO and United Nations Family Planning (UNFP) launched a qualitative research project in 1997 on the social and cultural factors influencing demographic behavior, and UNFP began working on an interactive television system for distance learning for teachers. The purpose of the study was to help MNE better understand the cultural barriers hampering health and population education and to find appropriate messages to be communicated through interactive television. By participating in this population project, the GEA team learned about the participatory research methods being advanced and was able to influence the recommendations to include research questions relative to barriers to girls' education.

As predicted by these data collection activities, staff found challenges in promoting multi-sectoral partnerships. Among them was the highly centralized system of government. There remains a pervasive belief that education and health are government responsibilities. The expectations of, and commitments by, government in these sectors exceed its resources and administrative capabilities. In acknowledgment of these limitations, and in light of the need for services and reform, the government has been actively seeking effective partners. The private sector has recently become energized in supporting education and is organizing its approach. NGO partners are also active in education, although many do not work in rural areas. Poverty and illiteracy often result in weak organizational and communication skills for community-based groups. And locally generated participation and activities are further hampered by the absence of working relationships and communication between community representatives and local education authorities (see *GEA 1999 Annual Report*).

The Girls' Education Activity in Morocco has developed a methodology to address the constraints and obstacles to public-private partnerships. GEA's goal is to put into place sustainable processes for girls' education whereby local organizations and stakeholders establish viable and enduring working relationships. Part of GEA's strategy is to help the private sector and NGOs build their capacity to work in rural areas. GEA also works with NGOs and local leaders to organize local stakeholders into decision-making units that can support girls' education as a fundamental part of a broader movement to improve education.

GEA works with NGO partners to strengthen their institutional and management capacity, assess needs and constraints, and provide training in advocacy, fund-raising, and project management. In 1998, GEA sponsored a national NGO forum to initiate a network for girls' education. The network has been an active implementation partner of the Girls' Scholarship Project, launched by the NGO-led Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF) (Girls' Education Support Committee).

GEA held an NGO national conference in 1997 with stakeholders and communities to review regional constraints on girls' education and to form action plans. The action plans were evaluated and updated in 1998 and 1999. In smaller meetings of local partners, including local officials, teachers, PTA representatives, and local NGO representatives, communities advocated for their educational needs and collaborated with local officials to develop and implement action plans. To support these initiatives in the pilot communities, GEA has provided technical assistance to regional NGOs and the Girls' Education Support Committee to implement school infrastructure projects.

GEA also engaged the private sector to raise awareness and mobilize participation through a national conference, Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative, held in April 1999 in Marrakech. The keynote speaker, U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, highlighted the importance of girls' education and gave vivid examples from her visit to USAID pilot school sites. Three additional speakers, from the United States, Guatemala, and Peru, also shared their experiences with private sector involvement in support of education. The public-private School-Enterprise Partnership and the private sector business-education association were direct outgrowths of the Marrakech conference. GEA has supported these groups through technical assistance, consultation activities for action planning, and links with international counterparts (see *GEA 1999 Annual Report*).

KEY SECTORS OF INTERVENTION AND STAKEHOLDERS

GEA works closely with the Ministry of National Education, which now recognizes the current needs and rising expectations for educational reform and has become open to working with the private sector. At the same time, CBOs and NGOs formed the Girls' Education Support Committee (CSSF) to facilitate connections and communication between donors and local NGOs.

Al Jisr (The Bridge), the School-Enterprise Partnership Association, for example, was formed with entrepreneurs, bankers, government, and teacher unions to directly support struggling schools with private funds and materials. The Federation of Banks, representing 16 banks in Morocco, has been a strong supporter of Al Jisr. The media have also made important contributions. Print and broadcast journalists have produced many news stories about girls' education and support activities. The magazine *Femme du Maroc* mobilized many in the news media to turn a fashion event into a major girls' education support platform. These actors and activities, and the GEA-assisted events that brought them together, are described below.

GEA also has had limited success in working with the religious community. After discussions with GEA staff and partners, the Minister of National Education sent a letter to the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs asking him to urge the preachers in the mosques to disseminate the idea of the importance of education for boys and for girls to sensitize the public opinion about this issue.

The following section describes major GEA activities and the important role that multiple sectors have played in improving girls' education in Morocco.

MAJOR GEA ACTIVITIES

Since the project began in 1996, GEA staff have worked on a large number of activities to improve girls' education. This section describes major activities that GEA staff have facilitated at the national and local levels.

Organizing and Participating in Conferences and Workshops

National NGO Conference of 1997

The NGO conference brought together more than 100 stakeholders, who had never previously met, to address girls' education. Conference organizers expressed the following goals:

- Initiate a national dialogue involving stakeholders at the national and provincial levels.
- Set concrete action plans to improve the situation of girls' education in the USAID pilot schools.
- Strengthen the national strategy of the MNE concerning rural education and girls' education.

The conference brought together the most important stakeholders:

- Provincial Délégations that included the Délégués (superintendants), school inspectors, school directors, and teachers who represent each pilot school in the pilot sites

- Forty-two NGOs selected on the basis of three major criteria: those working in development, those working in women's advocacy, and those acting on the regional level
- Representatives of Provincial governments
- Members of parliaments representing the five provinces
- Representatives of the Rural Communes of the pilot sites
- The media
- Representatives of the Ministry of National Education (including the Minister)

During the proceedings, GEA's facilitator led the participants, who included local officials, teachers, PTA representatives, local NGO representatives, and community members, in developing local action plans. To support these initiatives in the pilot communities, GEA provided technical assistance to the regional NGOs and the Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF) (Girls' Education Support Committee) to help them implement school improvement and infrastructure projects. Several of the GEA-sponsored technical assistance and capacity-building activities are discussed in the Local Activities section of this report.

National Conference on Girls' Education

A national conference on rural girls' education was conducted in October 1997 with representatives from multiple sectors. The conference addressed this question: *In a country where education for all depends on the possibilities of access and retention of rural girls in the school system, what do we do to promote girls' education?* The action plans were evaluated and updated in 1998 and 1999. In smaller meetings of local partners, including local officials, teachers, PTA representatives, and local NGO representatives, communities advocated for their educational needs and collaborated with local officials to develop and implement action plans.

These related activities are unprecedented in Morocco because follow-up actions were organized, for the first time, with local teams and institutional partners, including the Ministry of National Education, international donors, elected officials, and NGOs. In addition, the multi-sectoral actors agreed to build on the results of the October 1997 conference by assessing progress on action plans and planning future actions relative to accomplishments and constraints.

International Conference on Girls' Education

In April 1998, GEA provided the organizational and financial support to send a high-level delegation to the International Conference on Girls' Education in Washington, D.C. The conference was designed to mobilize, internationally, multiple sectors to support girls' education. The members of the delegation used the opportunity of having the Minister of National Education among them to present and discuss new ideas on the reform of the educational system. A leading Moroccan banker from WAFABANK was also invited as a delegation member. Following the conference, the WAFABANK delegate and the Minister, with GEA support, began planning for private sector engagement in joint initiatives.

Several ideas were proposed and debated during and after the sessions, especially concerning the contribution of the media or the private sector to supporting girls' education. A large meeting with the Guatemalan delegation and the Egyptian delegation was also organized. Delegates compared their respective education systems with that of Morocco and discussed the measures that each country took to enhance girls' education. These discussions inspired ideas that can be adapted to the Moroccan context. The Guatemalan model and that of its *escuela nueva* (the New School) interested the Moroccan delegates, including the Minister. In 1998, a group of primary school teachers went to the United States under the Training for Development/AMIDEAST project to visit multi-grade classrooms.

In May 1998, several articles were published on the conference and the participation of the Moroccan delegation. The Minister of National Education gave an interview on a national radio program titled "Morocco: Searching for an Original Experience." Following the interview, the national press published several articles about education in general and girls' education in particular. The GEA Country Coordinator also conducted follow-up meetings with each member of the delegation to explore possible ways to start up new actions to support girls' education. The two following actions were identified:

- The organization of a radio campaign (described below) about girls' education with the participation of the CSSF and in collaboration with the local NGOs
- The organization of a national conference on Girls' Education and the Private Sector in collaboration with WAFABANK and the Ministry of National Education, which was conducted in 1999 and is described later in this section

World Bank Workshop on Women and Girls' Education

The GEA Coordinator facilitated a workshop organized by the World Bank and the Secretariat d'Etat à l'Entraide Nationale on women and education in July 1998. The objective of this workshop was to propose specific measures to promote

- girls' education;
- the education of girls who abandoned school during the first years;

- women's literacy; and
- the values of equity within the educational system.

The workshop participants were experts in the field of education and included several decision makers concerned with the gender issue. Among them was a former Minister of Education. The results of the workshop were published as recommendations for implementing specific measures on the integration of women in development.

Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act

In late 1998, GEA participated in the annual Winter University series sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM) (Democratic Association of Women in Morocco). The GEA Coordinator proposed the theme Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act to follow-up on the action plans from the October 1997 NGO conference. After several meetings, this theme was adopted. UNFPA is implementing activities in seven provinces: the original five included in the conference and two additional provinces. The participants reviewed and discussed action plans for promoting girls' education for seven pilot provinces with the following objectives in mind:

- Evaluate all the initiatives and actions that were undertaken to promote girls' education in the rural areas of the seven pilot provinces.
- Elaborate concrete and participative action plans that will federate and consolidate all synergies—local, national, or international.

The participants were teachers, school directors, school inspectors, MNE provincial representatives, and local and national NGOs, as well as locally elected community representatives.

Evaluate and Act Follow-Up Workshop

GEA has continued to support girls' education planning, monitoring, and evaluation initiatives by local partners. In April 1999, GEA sponsored a follow-up workshop to the December 1998 conference, Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act, which was sponsored by one of GEA's major collaborators, the Democratic Association of Women in Morocco (ADFM). The latter ensued after the 1997 national NGO conference on girls' education in rural areas when action plans for girls' education were developed for the five pilot provinces where USAID works. The continuity and the commitment to follow-up activities were unprecedented in Morocco.

At the April 1999 workshop, representatives of the MNE, donors, local and provincial NGOs, and elected officials discussed ways to improve the coordination on ongoing projects to support girls' education, which are part of the action plans. A central discussion point was the need to support the capacity building of NGOs through training. This discussion was based, in part, on an evaluation that showed greater project success where NGOs were involved in supporting communities and parent associations. The evaluation results showed a substantial (27 percent) decrease in the net enrollment differentials between girls and boys between 1994 and 1998. Other significant conclusions of the evaluation were that the major constraints to implementing actions were the lack of financial resources (56 percent of cases) and the difficulty in negotiating with donors (22 percent). The implementation difficulties associated with multiple partners, and a lack of involvement by the local community, accounted for the remainder of the constraints to implementing girls' education action plans. From these findings, GEA staff and its partners concluded that they needed to redouble their efforts to raise funds for girls' education.

National Conference on Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative

A March 1999 conference, Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative, was organized in Marrakech to engage and encourage private sector representatives to promote girls' education. With 900 people in attendance, the featured speaker was U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Mrs. Clinton highlighted the importance of girls' education and gave vivid examples from her visit to USAID pilot school sites. Three additional speakers from the United States, Guatemala, and Peru also shared their experience with private sector involvement in support of education. The creation of the public-private School-Enterprise Partnership and the private sector business-education association was a direct outgrowth of the Marrakech conference. As a result of these two conferences, private sector representatives formed Al Jisr (The Bridge): School-Enterprise Partnership Association, including 16 banks of the Groupement Professionnel des Banques du Maroc (GPBM) and approximately 1,600 members of the Confederation Générale des Entreprises Marocaines (CGEM), representing small, medium, and large enterprise in Morocco. The association members targeted 600 schools to sponsor and support as a long-range goal, schools that the MNE has identified as disadvantaged, and established 50 partnerships by the end of the contract period.

Conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Reform of the Educational System

In April 2000, a conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Reform of the Educational System was organized by GEA in partnership with the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM) (Democratic Association of Women in Morocco). Over two days, more than 60 NGOs discussed different ways and possibilities to support the educational system reform. The King's advisor and president of the Commission Spéciale pour l'Education et la Formation (COSEF) (Special Commission for Education and Training), Mr. Bellefquih, and the Minister of National Education attended the event. COSEF was the high government commission responsible for drafting the National Charter for Educational Reform. The Minister addressed the audience to present the MNE's policy favorable to civil society participation. During the closing session, all participants emphasized that civil society had a major role to play in the reform of the educational system as proposed by the National Charter for Educational Reform. Participants stressed the need to keep in mind the subjective and objective conditions in which Moroccan society is evolving:

- On the subjective level, associations have to be fully aware of the power they hold to have an effective impact on their fields of activity. This impact will be possible within a framework of well-balanced agreements binding NGOs, their partner institutions, and donors and will be based on the coordination of their efforts and the continual training and upgrading of their managerial staff.
- On the objective level, NGOs have to translate their objectives into programs, which are the main guarantee of their independence. They also have to create a coordination commission that will bring together their efforts in the following fields: strategy and planning, sensitization, mobilization, project conception, and implementation.

National Conference on the Scholarships for Rural Girls Program

In July 2000, more than 40 journalists participated in a conference on the Scholarships for Rural Girls Program, which provided information about beneficiaries, funding, and program coordination at the local and central levels. As a result of the press conference, 18 articles about the program were published in 13 newspapers, and two radio programs broadcasts were aired.

Working With the Media for Communications and Outreach

GEA has also been successful in working with media partners to communicate the importance of girls' education to the general public and garner support for project-sponsored activities. Examples follow.

Publication of Girls' Education in Morocco: State of the Art

The *State of the Art* report on girls' education was finished in early 1997. The study was based on previous studies and data collections available from the MNE, donors, and local researchers. This well-documented report detailed barriers to girls' education and listed the types of actions needed to address the barriers. Copies were distributed widely at the MNE and among the GEA partner NGO and donor organizations. The national-level data from the report were used to prepare charts and slides that would be used extensively for presentations at workshops and meetings. The information also served as a comparative reference for data collection efforts that GEA initiated in the rural provinces.

Publication of L'Entreprise Citoyenne et la Scolarisation (The Citizen-Enterprise and Education)

GEA's activities aimed to involve every social and economic actor who could actively support girls' education. In this framework, one of the most significant results on the private sector mobilization was the publication of the article "*L'entreprise citoyenne et la scolarisation*" (The Citizen Enterprise and Education) in the information bulletin *CGEM INFO* of the Confédération Générale d'Entreprises du Marocaines (CGEM) (National Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises). This bulletin was sent to all 1,800 members of the CGEM. The article named the main constraints to girls' education in the rural areas as identified by GEA. It went on to stress the need for the sensitization and mobilization actions targeting different constituencies led by GEA and focused on the private sector's role in girls' education by identifying several supportive actions:

- Sharing the private sector's know-how in financial and human resources management with local NGOs
- Opening up enterprises to visits by scholars
- Organizing seminars on partnership with the goal of promoting links between the local associations and the local authorities
- Investing by the private sector in local projects that will have an impact on education
- Funding scholarships
- Establishing micro-financing activities through local NGOs, which would have an impact on the income of local households and consequently on girls' education

Radio Sensitization Campaigns on Girls' Education

In Morocco, the highest rates of illiterate women and non-educated young girls are in rural and mountainous areas that have difficult access and very few communication means. The most efficient medium for sensitizing these communities is the radio because it can reach these geographically isolated areas. In some of these regions, each household has a radio; even the poorest villages have at least one radio. The men of the community gather regularly during the day after they have finished their tasks to listen to the news or to different programs.

GEA in collaboration with the CSSF organized a roundtable with the radio journalists and the producers of different broadcasts in June 1998. The roundtable opened with a presentation by some school children from rural areas, who talked about their schools and the constraints and obstacles that prevented them from staying in school or prevented their sisters from going to school. To punctuate the moment, a young child presented a poem on girls' education that expressed the feelings of a rural little girl who could not go to school.

After the roundtable, the GEA Coordinator met with the directors of the following national institutions:

- Arabic National Radio
- Berber Dialect National Radio
- International Moroccan Radio

The purpose of these meetings was to discuss the possibilities of organizing a sensitization campaign on girls' education through the different radio channels in Arabic and in the three Berber dialects.

The resulting sensitization campaign ran from July to September. The following broadcasts were made:

- Three broadcasts on the importance of girls' education were aired in all three dialects.
- A French language broadcast involved the participation of a representative from the USAID Mission and from the MNE, who presented the MNE strategy for developing girls' education.
- Three broadcasts in Arabic were realized with the participation of the members of the CSSF. These programs targeted mothers and the family in general. Two of them were directly broadcast and included live telephone call-ins.

Two regional Berber language radio stations also broadcast two programs a week, providing discussions and information about the importance of girls' education. The audience could participate by calling in questions by phone.

Media Roundtable

A roundtable on the media's perceived role in supporting girls' education was conducted by GEA in 1997. The purpose was to raise the awareness of radio journalists about girls' education issues. Information highlighting the local conditions of girls' education and the partnership actions that have been undertaken was provided to participants. Discussion sessions were then held. As a result of the roundtable, Arabic National Radio, Berber Dialect National Radio, and International Moroccan Radio agreed to air programs on girls' education. These programs have included messages about the importance of girls' education, question-and-answer sessions, and messages from the Ministry and USAID about their programs. These messages have been carried in three Berber dialects, French, and Arabic.

Over the following two years, the GEA team and its partners observed that two competing perspectives were emerging among media: (a) support for the girls' education activities and (b) skepticism that meaningful change could happen or that educating girls would be productive. The continuity of positive media engagement also had become a problem, although the Girls' Education Scholarship Fund attracted three months of active media attention in 1999 and 2000. A second roundtable on girls' education was held with members of the media in October 2000. Representatives from the Ministry of National Education and USAID presented their strategies to promote girls' education.

Caftan 2000 and 2001

In the final quarter of 1999, GEA supported the Comité de Soutien à la Scolarization des Filles (CSSF) in establishing a partnership with *Femmes du Maroc*, a prominent women's magazine in Morocco. *Femme du Maroc* enlisted journalists to help raise funds through media coverage of Caftan 2000, a fashion event highlighting European and Moroccan fashion designers in Morocco. Caftan 2000 was sponsored by seven large enterprises and a television network and attracted a mixed audience: women, advertisers, opinion leaders, enterprises, and the press. Caftan 2000 was organized in Casablanca around the theme of girls' education in rural areas. The concept was advertised with the slogan "Modernity goes with development. Development goes with education. The Moroccan woman embodies and is the main vector of all these values."

> **Modernity goes with development. Development goes with education. The Moroccan woman embodies and is the main vector of all these values.**
>
> -Caftan 2000 slogan

An information campaign targeting various media outlets began in December 1999. Caftan 2000 took place on February 5 and was broadcast live on national television. The event achieved many important goals. In addition to raising scholarship funds, the show focused national attention on girls' education. Because of its visibility and success, this event was held again in 2001.

Journalists published 67 media articles on girls' education around the event, produced a three-minute television segment on rural girls' education, and covered fashion models as they visited girls who were supported by the Scholarship Fund. A press conference provided a platform for *Femme du Maroc* and CSSF to present the importance of rural girls' education, including planned birth rates, lower infant mortality, and improved public health and education.

Subsequent contributions to girls' education, which were attributable to media coverage of the event, included $10,000 from various donors for rural girls' scholarships for upper primary school, land for girls' boarding houses, equipment, appliances, and various goods and food.

In March 2001, another Caftan event was organized to support girls' education and the scholarship program particularly. Nine companies and a national television channel were sponsors. Because CSSF is still receiving contributions, we do not have a final tally of the amount raised. More than 3,000 people attended the event and some 50 journalists participated in the press conference where CSSF presented

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the scholarship program and two scholarship recipients addressed the forum. Twenty-four articles were published on girls' education and the scholarship program, and seven radio broadcasts and two television interviews aired before and after the caftan event. A South African television channel, Africa 2 Africa, filmed the event and interviews and launched a 26-minute program about the Scholarship Program on a series called *Movers and Shakers in Africa.* The programs feature people and events in Africa that have had a positive impact on both their respective countries and Africa as a whole.

Building Organizational Capacity to Improve Girls' Education

GEA sought two main results from the partnership activities. One was the creation of new ways of acting by sectors that traditionally had not been charged with supporting girls' education. The second was the continuation of the multi-sectoral partnerships that had been formed to carry on support activities and revenue generation beyond the scope of the project. GEA acknowledged several activities that were central to its efforts to build the capacities of these sectors and partnerships to support girls' education and to sustain these relationships and activities over time.

Over the course of the project, the GEA office provided extensive technical assistance to Moroccan NGOs in the following areas:

- Developing a communications strategy
- Using participatory learning and action research
- Identifying ways to strengthen their own institutions

Improved Communications Strategies

As Morocco develops its civic infrastructure, more and more organizations are vying for the public spotlight. Advocates for social causes require new skills in media advocacy and strategic communication. To this end, project staff worked with the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM), the women's rights organization that has largely been coordinating the grassroots efforts in Morocco to improve girls' education, to develop a comprehensive communications strategy. The overall goal was to expand awareness nationally about the importance of girls' education. In a series of meetings with the ADFM, Comité de Soutien à la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF), and Al Jisr in January and February 2000, project staff and an international consultant discussed the following issues:

- Communicating with internal as well as external audiences
- Identifying the best messages to communicate, including people who can relay messages to various target groups
- Establishing sustainable relationships with various media organizations

A variety of educational stakeholders participated in these meetings, including public and private sector leaders and teachers from local communities. This diversity of perspectives generated important debates about the focus and scope of communications campaigns. The groups discussed such questions as What audiences should be targeted for a media campaign? and To what extent and how should a media campaign combat more conservative political elements in society that seek to restrict girls' schooling? Many of the ideas that were generated and the networks that were developed in this process were subsequently channeled into the Charte Nationale d'Education, the National Charter for Educational Reform that the Royal Commission developed in 2000.

Participatory Learning and Action (PLA)

In May 2000, GEA held a week-long participatory learning and action (PLA) training in Rabat and in Sidi Kacem for the 28 members of the CSSF and the Forum National de L'Action Associative. The training was designed to improve participants' capacities to work with communities and parents to identify problems associated with girls' education in Morocco and to find meaningful solutions. Participants also learned how to use PLA tools and how to develop action plans to apply PLA methods to their own girls' education activities.

The workshop included four days of in-class experiential training, two days of application in the field, and one day of debriefing. An evaluation of the workshop indicated that participants' knowledge of girls' education and PLA methods increased by 300 percent. As a result of the training, many participants decided to use PLA methods to develop girls' education projects in their communities. They planned to train their own association members in PLA, adapt PLA tools to develop the participatory development skills of their partners, and develop new projects and validate old projects by using PLA methods.

Institutional Development Framework (IDF) Tool

GEA staff introduced the Institutional Development Framework (IDF) tool to 150 participants in 33 associations between January and April 2001. The goal was to help organizations that support girls' education analyze and realize their organizational development priorities and establish in-country capacity to facilitate IDF participatory analysis in the future. During this activity, the IDF model was adapted to the Moroccan context, translated into French and Arabic, and validated with more than 100 days of facilitator contact with local associations.

The institutional assessment has two steps. First, organizational representatives review and score their organization according to 18 competencies. This information then allows the facilitator to describe the relative strengths and weaknesses of the organization at the specific moment of analysis. Second, representatives use the results of the assessment to determine a few priorities for improving their organization over the next 6 to 12 months. An important part of the exercise is to define a small set of reasonable goals that can be accomplished in a short period of time.

By the end of the IDF consultancy in Morocco, the participating NGOs had achieved the following:

- Promoted in-depth reflection and self-analysis with the participating associations
- Established a process that can be used to monitor institutional progress
- Developed agreements regarding each organization's development priorities

Among all the participating organizations, the most important priorities included acquiring better training (in areas such as project planning and management), ensuring the financial viability of their organizations, improving the functioning of boards of directors, and improving organizational management systems.

Developing National Alliances in Support of Girls' Education

Comité de Soutien á la Scolarisation des Filles (CSSF) (Girls' Education Support Committee

CSSF is an independent, non-governmental, non-profit organization dedicated to improving girls' education in rural areas. It has 13 members and devotes its time to advocacy, lobbying, and raising public awareness of the deficiencies in girls' education. CSSF's partners include the MNE; local, national, and international NGOs; businesses and corporations; the media; and donors.

During the months of April, May, and June 1998, the GEA Coordinator, in collaboration with CSSF, started identifying and contacting NGOs that have activities in the field of education in the 15 poorest provinces in Morocco. The purpose of this action was to identify NGOs or resource people of the CSSF at the provincial and local levels. Approximately 190 NGOs were identified. These NGOs would constitute an NGO network for supporting girls' education in the 15 provinces.

In June 1998, CSSF defined its strategy and set out its objectives:

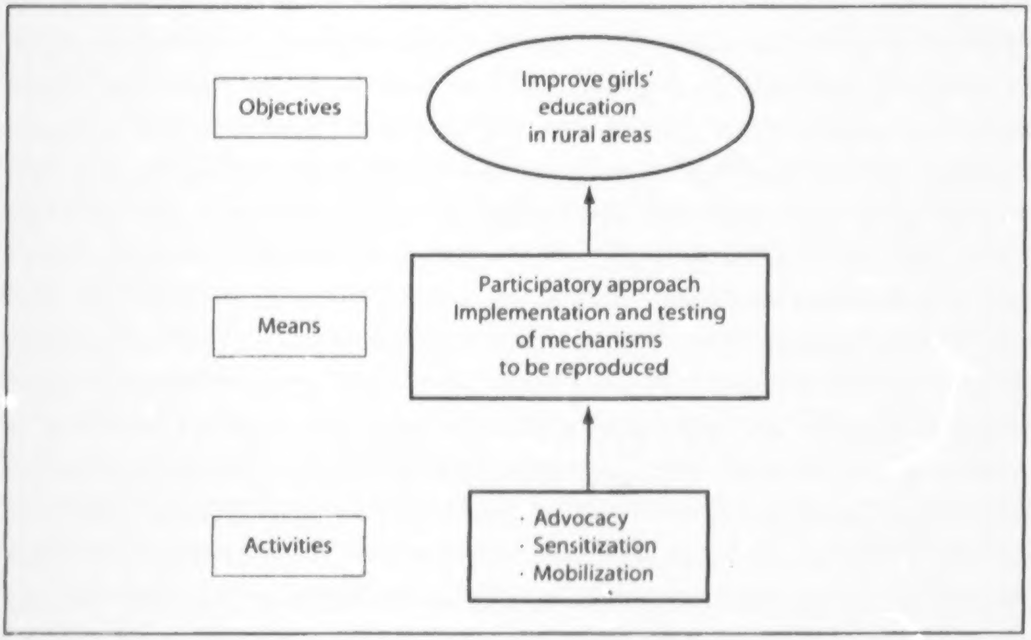
- To support and undertake actions to improve the rates and conditions of education in the rural environment
- To coordinate and exchange information among the different participants in the education arena and to reinforce partnerships in this field
- To support actions to improve girls' school access and retention in the second cycle of fundamental education

CSSF uses the following approaches to accomplish those goals:

- Collecting useful information about rural girls' education
- Strengthening the capacity of local organizations through technical assistance, training, and fundraising
- Engaging in advocacy about girls' education at the national, provincial, and local levels in public and private sectors

CSSF views itself as a vehicle for supporting other NGOs that working on the issue of girls' education; it tries not to compete with work that NGOs are already doing. Since its inception, CSSF has stressed the importance of using participatory mechanisms in its activities to maximize mobilization and ensure the sustainability of its projects. It has worked hard to encourage other NGOs to adapt this approach as well. Figure 3 illustrates how CSSF uses its approach to reinforce its message about participation as well as to accomplish its overall goal of improving girls' educational achievements.

Figure 3.—Objectives, Means, and Activities


Objectives
Improve girls' education in rural areas
Means
Participatory approach Implementation and testing of mechanisms to be reproduced
Activities
· Advocacy
· Sensitization
· Mobilization

The major activities of CSSF follow:

- **Advocacy.** CSSF maintains active contacts with the MNE and private sector organizations and seeks opportunities for coordination and collaboration with the MNE.
- **Public awareness and mobilization.** CSSF aims to raise public awareness of girls' educational achievement through a variety of venues, including press conferences, university roundtables, and advertising campaigns in French, Arabic, and Amazigh. (The Amazigh languages are the three Berber dialects spoken in the areas targeted by CSSF efforts, where the rural girls live in their communities.) The targets of these campaigns include media, rural communities, the MNE, and other authorities.
- **Fundraising.** CSSF makes appeals to public sector and private sector organizations as well as to individuals.
- **Capacity building activities for the NGO community.** Training local NGOs is a priority for CSSF. The goal is to improve their organizational structure and establish links within an NGO network that will provide coordination, information, and a more operational and efficient working context. Training on advocacy techniques and on institutional development has been imparted to the NGO community.
- **Communication channels.** Establishing channels linking the local NGOs and the national and public organizations, as well as other actors, facilitates identifying and mobilizing resources and the different actors involved.
- **The Scholarship Program for Girls' Education in Rural Areas.** The scholarship program is an initiative undertaken by CSSF to increase the enrollment rates for girls in rural areas and to replicate successes, particularly in obtaining private funds for scholarships. The program benefited 116 girls over three years, allowing them to have access to secondary education. The program organization is supported by GEA/USAID, although all scholarship funds are raised locally.

In September 1998, a national NGO meeting on girls' education was organized to set up and adopt proposed communication and coordination mechanisms among provincial NGOs, local NGOs, and CSSF. This network has the following members:

- CSSF
- NGO liaisons in the 15 provinces
- Local NGOs in the communities and the villages

Each member of CSSF was informally responsible for coverage of one or more of the provinces. Those members who had responsibility for one province were also asked to do further work in identifying contacts within the province for future collaboration and were asked to sensitize a minimum of one additional NGO to the issues of girls' education. In each province, an NGO liaison represents CSSF at the provincial level and is responsible for communication between the local NGOs and CSSF. The local NGOs collect information about current demographics, the needs of the rural schools, the community, and the non-educated girls in the surrounding villages. This information is sent to the NGO liaison, which then communicates with CSSF. CSSF is in charge of making the necessary contacts at the national level, either with donors or the concerned ministries, to answer the needs of the schools or the community as identified by the local NGO. The flow of information moves both ways.

At the outset, CSSF played an advocacy role and helped coordinate NGO interests in favor of girls' education. However, the objectives and activities of CSSF are clearly in line with Task 5, especially as the Ministry of National Education reorganizes itself to play a more active role in the broad-based reform mandated by the National Charter.

Al Jisr

The organization Al Jisr (the Bridge) was created as a result of the March 1999 conference Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative. This partnership includes 16 banks of the Groupement Professionnel des Banques du Maroc (GPBM) and approximately 1,600 members of the Confederation Générale des Entreprises Marocaines (CGEM) representing small, medium, and large enterprises in Morocco. The association members collaborate to sponsor and support 600 schools that the MNE identifies as disadvantaged.

The main purpose of the partnership between Al Jisr and MNE is to support the process of decentralizing the responsibility for school improvement to the local school level. The partnership works with local support committees by engaging in action planning and raising resources for school improvement, including infrastructure, teaching quality, and a culture of evaluating school performance. The local support committees are at the heart of the partnership project. They comprise community representatives of the private sector, the school director, parents, and teachers. GEA worked with the association to develop its community participation and communication strategy and to develop a simple method of monitoring and evaluating the work of the support committees.

Al Jisr is a unique initiative. It represents the first time that the private sector and the public institutions have gotten together to share the objective of promoting increased girls' and boys' education. To attain this objective, two levels of intervention have been identified. At the national level, the coordination of the leaders of the private and public sectors promotes an innovative vision for the creation of multiple partnerships and allows the opening of the educational system in the country to different non-education partners and to different socio-economic actors.

At the local level, it has meant the initiation of a process and actions to create support committees (comités de soutien). These committees, made up of bankers, businessmen, NGOs, parents, voluntary workers, and others, work within the framework of a participatory action plan established in coordination with the education personnel in the school.

The newly formed association Al Jisr asked GEA to recommend an approach to school partnerships. GEA described the U.S. experience in business-education partnerships at a workshop with private sector representatives and MNE regional inspectors. GEA staff talked about the importance of girls' education to the endeavor and, with Al Jisr, developed a community participation model, a communication strategy, and a simple way to monitor and evaluate the support committees. To formalize these processes and establish durable mechanisms that guarantee the continuation of Al Jisr's action in the new vision developed by the partners, GEA undertook a series of actions to strengthen its capacity and structure. Therefore, two representatives of Al Jisr participated in the 17th Symposium on Partnerships in Education, organized by the U.S.-based National Association of Partners in Education, which took place in Houston, Texas, in November 2000. This led to the formal partnership agreement described below.

In April 2000, representatives of the National Association of Partners in Education visited Morocco under GEA sponsorship. This organization promotes business-school partnerships by providing training and technical assistance, writing materials on partnering, and maintaining a network of member partnership programs.

Staff from Partners in Education and Al Jisr discussed their visions and strategies, visited partnership models in Morocco, and met with USAID personnel and partners, such as the Moroccan American Chamber of Commerce and the Minister of National Education. They discussed approaches to partnership and potential collaboration. Al Jisr expressed an interest in collaborating and signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Partners in Education. Leaders of both organizations agreed that because of their common view of the importance of business-education partnerships, Partners in Education would share its expertise in four basic areas: (1) developing training materials, (2) building a cadre of trainers, (3) establishing a quality-controlled system of expansion of partnership programs, and (4) implementing an annual conference on partnerships.

In September 2000, Partners in Education and Al Jisr, together with GEA, presented the goal of their collaborative organization: "To build the capacity of communities across Morocco to establish local school and community partnerships that will improve education opportunities and help achieve a higher level of student success." The plan presents steps to achieve four objectives:

- Incorporate the basics of partnership into the *Guide for the Creation of Support Committees.*
- Hold an annual conference to feature best practices of partnership programs in Morocco.
- Establish a policy for training trainers, including criteria for selection.
- Establish a system of certification for trainers and for partnership programs in Morocco.

To date, pilot projects have been implemented with three primary schools, involving the development of small school libraries and the improvement of the schools' infrastructure. Four more schools have approved action plans involving library and infrastructure development that will be implemented before the end of 2001. Additionally, more than 50 Business-School Partnership Committees have been formed. Each one is currently developing action plans that it will submit to Al Jisr for coordination.

Developing Local Activities in Support of Girls' Education

This section highlights the major rural project interventions that were either mediated or supported by GEA. Again, the GEA approach was not to implement directly but to work through intermediaries in a variety of sectors and at the national, regional, and local levels where these intermediaries work. The activities described here are primarily local initiatives that were conceived and implemented by GEA partners as either pilot activities or local development projects. They have been organized into the following categories:

- The Girls' Rural Scholarship Program
- School infrastructure improvements

A third category of project-level activities has been included in this section. GEA found that in implementing Tasks 2 and 4—Constituency Building and Modifying Structures—it was necessary to provide timely training to its NGO partners to enhance their effectiveness and sustainability.

The Girls' Rural Scholarship Program

The Girls' Rural Scholarship Program provides specific, targeted assistance to rural girls, whose enrollment in school has continued to lag. The scholarship fund provides visibility to the issue of girls' schooling; incentives to continue each subsequent year; and assistance in offsetting school, household, and other opportunity costs that prevent many girls from completing their educations.

One of the constraints to rural girls' continuing their education is the absence of nearby middle schools; these schools are located in urban or semi-urban areas. Consequently, thousands of girls are not encouraged or supported to attend primary school because they have little or no chance to reach the secondary level. For many girls who are academically qualified for secondary school, the costs of travel and housing are prohibitive. Each year, the MNE distributes a few scholarships in the rural areas through the elected communes, but they are most often given to boys and are not always based on merit or need.

The Girls' Education Support Committee (CSSF) launched the Girls' Rural Scholarship Program in May 1999 to give scholarships to selected girl beneficiaries for the three years of secondary school, for three cohorts beginning in 1999–2000. The project is financed by donations from individuals and private sector organizations within Morocco, administered by the CSSF and a cooperating NGO, and implemented by the NGO network with assistance from local PTAs. The Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole (CNCA, the agricultural credit bank) manages the local funds and disbursements.

The Scholarship Program is aimed at girls in rural areas and has the following objectives:

- To raise girls' school retention in rural areas
- To increase girls' rate of middle schools completion (grades 6–8)
- To promote solidarity between urban and rural areas

In the first six months of the scholarship start-up, more than $30,000 was raised from enterprises, banks, and individuals for 116 scholarships. Each CSSF scholarship is worth 2500 DH (approximately US$260) for a school year. Donors can be individuals, businesses, and international agencies. In its first year, CSSF chose to initiate a three-year pilot that would focus support on these 116 girls.

To date, the pilot program has been implemented in 10 pilot sites. CSSF works with several implementing partners, such as local NGOs, parent-teacher associations, and an agricultural credit bank. NGOs associated with CSSF raise parents' awareness and identify girls to receive scholarships. CSSF also uses the media to draw in more donors and works through local associations such as PTAs to disseminate information and solicit parent support.

In some provinces where it is becoming possible for girls to leave home for their continued schooling, these NGOs coordinate the girls' housing needs. Depending on the type of hosting structure, they work with families who board girls or organize supervised group homes for the girls.

GEA has provided technical assistance to help CSSF design the administration of the scholarship program and hired a scholarship administrator to assist in the first few years. The money raised for the scholarship fund is being deposited in the account of an NGO authorized by the Moroccan government. The CSSF is expected to incorporate formally as an NGO and will administer the program directly once it obtains government approval.

The media's role in promoting the project also is evolving. The media generated articles and stories about the scholarship project in its first three months. The magazine *Femme du Maroc* enlisted journalists to help raise funds through coverage of Caftan 2000, a major fashion event. The journalists produced media articles and a television segment on rural girls' education and filmed fashion models as they visited girls being supported by the scholarship program.

During 2000, local NGOs found that many rural girls were not well prepared for the town schools and needed extra academic help. Each NGO identified at least one person to provide evening support courses to help girls with their studies. Local NGOs were also under pressure from parents to reserve or create additional places in the girls' homes for 2001. CSSF decided not to further expand the scholarship initiative at this time, wanting to see the initial results. However, two local NGOs are going ahead with expansion plans to fund and manage an increased number of scholarships locally.

GEA, CSSF, eight local NGO partners, and the Ministry of National Education sponsored a trip for scholarship recipients to Rabat in March 2000. A total of 94 girls and 16 adults participated, arriving on March 29 and staying through March 31. The girls met with program partners, donors, and the media and visited the national capital. Activities included excursions to tourist sites and meetings with national officials and private sector leaders. This visit was an excellent opportunity to disseminate information to national leaders and others in Rabat about the scholarship program and to emphasize to program recipients their roles as torchbearers for future generations of female scholars.

In July 2000, more than 40 journalists participated in a conference on the Girls' Rural Scholarship Program to learn more about the beneficiaries, funding, and program coordination at the local and federal levels. Representatives from donor organizations also attended. As a result of this press conference, 18 articles about the program were published, and two radio broadcasts were aired. GEA has secured money to continue to support the scholarship initiative for another year (October 2001–September 2002), as CSSF works to make the initiative a continuing and expanding reality for rural girls in Morocco. One of the most important recommendations that emerged from the conference was that the program should be evaluated to replicate it in several other regions in Morocco.

In 2000, CSSF, along with GEA, conducted an internal, formative, midterm evaluation of the scholarship program. The analysis of the evaluation findings led to the following programmatic observations that reflect the organizational change and policy process in general.

The first observation is that the program has had a positive impact on the target populations—families and girls—as well as on the human and socio-institutional environment. This conclusion is borne out by the notable increase in support for education among the different actors in the regions.

In terms of the impact the program has had on individual recipients and their families, the findings indicate that more than just girls' retention rates were affected. In fact, improved attitudes toward girls' education within the community were clearly expressed. Respondents specifically cited positive changes in girls' behavior concerning communication, sociability, and civic involvement. For instance, during holidays, some scholarship recipients initiated support and literacy activities for other people in their villages. These comments validate the value of educating girls and indicate the positive social effects of the program.

The findings also noted the impact on the NGO implementers themselves. Implementing the program has enabled them to extend or reinforce their scope of action, credibility, and image in the community. This effect comes from the target population's perception that the scholarships are an expression of interest in their living conditions and needs.

The last important effect generated by the program consists of the redefinition of the priorities of the local NGOs in relation to the communities. Oriented originally toward other activities, these NGOs decided by themselves to give a greater priority, or even a central one, to girls' education in rural areas.

As a result of the evaluation, all the local NGO implementers initiated plans to extend the scope of their scholarship activities. They have asked for a stronger CSSF involvement to develop and support a long-term strategy involving collaboration with the public sector, especially the MNE.

School Infrastructure Improvements

GEA-supported NGOs implemented four major infrastructure projects at the community level to support girls' education. Two have experienced difficulty, requiring greater attention to capacity building with the parents' associations to manage and implement such projects and to make the necessary contacts with government authorities and funders.

One successfully completed project, in Chtaouna, which is located in the central province of Sidi Kacem, included the construction of a multi-purpose room, latrines, a water cistern, a library and reading corner, a well with potable water, and a natural fence made with trees. After the completion of the original project, the community agreed to work with the implementing NGO to build a house for a female teacher. In return, the teacher agreed to manage the school library. This approach is serving as a model to demonstrate how an entity based outside the community, the NGO, can establish the requisite credibility and trust to work in partnership with the community. Having established this partner relationship, the NGO then persuaded the community to address a separate and major constraint specific to girls. The second successful project was implemented in Al Hoceima by the Asasha NGO. It realized, in collaboration with the local community, the construction of latrines and water cisterns in two schools.

In contrast, the two other projects, in Essaouira (sponsored by the NGO Comité d'Entraide de l'Eglise Evangélique) and Errachidia (sponsored by the NGO Fondation pour le Développement Local et le Partenariat), have made slower progress. It appears that the main reasons for the delays were the difficulties that the parents' associations (APTE) encountered in managing and implementing such projects, difficulties in making the necessary contacts with government authorities and donors, and coordination and feedback to the local community.

ANALYSIS OF SYSTEMIC CHANGES IN GIRLS' EDUCATION IN MOROCCO

The purpose of the Girls' Education Activity is to support countries in their efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level. This often requires changes in policies at the national, regional, and local levels, as well as changes in the infrastructure to implement those policies and change practices. In the case of GEA Morocco, the specific goals of the change process were *to increase awareness of the value of girls' education* and *to increase attainment of basic education among girls in selected rural provinces, which includes the enabling objective of strengthened capacity and increased participation of girls' education partners.* This section of the report uses MSI's CFAC to analyze GEA's accomplishments in stimulating organizational and socio-political change in Morocco. These have been organized along the lines of the six tasks in CFAC described in Section II.

The Legitimization of Policies and Practices in Support of Girls' Education (Task 1)

The first task in the CFAC—legitimization—is the process by which people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of a policy idea declare publicly that the policy objective is important to pursue. It is the first step in the policy change process and an absolute prerequisite for building larger constituencies and accumulating resources in support of change. There are two criteria for measuring legitimization. The first is the mobilization of key stakeholders who are willing to champion the project and grant the policy idea a basic level of credibility in the political arena. The second is the absence, or at least the near absence, of key stakeholders who actively oppose the policy idea.

When GEA began in 1997, the recognition of the legitimacy of the need for reform in favor of girls' education was limited. Still, recognition existed among a small set of forward-minded professionals working primarily in the growing NGO sector of Morocco. GEA initiated a series of highly visible events designed to instigate multi-sectoral and multicultural discussions of girls' education and other basic education issues in Morocco.

These events, described above in the Major GEA Activities section, made the following contributions to legitimacy:

- **Publishing *Girls' Education in Morocco: State of the Art* (1997)**, a report targeted at decision makers in the MNE, GEA partner NGOs, and donor organizations. The report documented the barriers to girls' education and listed the types of actions needed to address the barriers.
- **Conducting a National Conference on Girls' Education (1997)**, which served to establish common understanding and legitimacy among 100 stakeholders who had never previously met to address girls' education. The very influential stakeholders included Provincial Délégués (superintendants), school inspectors, school directors, and teachers; the leadership of 42 NGOs; representatives of Provincial government, the Rural Communes; the Ministry of National Education (including the Minister); members of Parliament; and the media. The conference not only established legitimacy but also formulated specific coordinated local action plans (directly relevant to Task 5).
- **Influencing other donors' activities to legitimize girls' education reform (1997).** For instance, GEA staff were able to influence UNESCO and UNFP to include a focus on barriers to girls' education in their national-level research and programming where they had not previously done so.
- **Sending a high-level delegation of Moroccans to the International Conference on Girls' Education (1998).** During the conference, the Minister of National Education and his technical staff were able to focus on the issue and learn from the experiences of other countries.
- **Conducting radio sensitization campaigns on girls' education (1998 through 2000).** The most efficient medium for legitimization and community sensitization is the radio because it can reach geographically isolated areas that have difficult access and very few communication means.
- **Facilitating a World Bank Workshop on Women and Girls' Education (1998)** that proposed specific measures for the promotion of girls' education, women's literacy, and the values of

equity within the educational system. Stakeholders included experts in the field of education, and the results were published recommendations for implementing specific measures on the integration of women in development.

- **Conducting a National Conference on Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative (1999)**, which raised awareness and mobilized participation within the private sector. Two results of establishing legitimacy for girls' education among this stakeholder group were the creation of the public-private School-Enterprise Partnership and the creation of the private sector business-education association Al Jisr.
- **Holding national conferences and recipient visits to publicize the Girls' Rural Scholarship Program (2000 and 2001)**. These events help expand national-level legitimacy and advance financial and political support of girls' education among the national leadership and the general population in the capital.
- **Holding a conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Reform of the Educational System (2000)**, which was co-sponsored with ADFM. This conference brought together high-level stakeholders to legitimize the idea that civil society had a major role to play in the reform of the educational system as proposed by the National Charter.
- **Publishing the article "L'Entreprise Citoyenne et la Scolarisation" (The Citizen-Enterprise and Education) (2000)**. This article identified the main constraints in girls' education in the rural areas as identified by GEA and focused on the 1,800 members of the National Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises.

Other Significant Legitimacy Milestones

During the tenure of GEA, several significant milestones in terms of legitimizing girls' education came to pass. Although GEA does not take credit for these milestones, GEA was intimately involved in providing and disseminating information and in lobbying for the effects. Several prominent women who were intimately involved with GEA activities served on the Royal Commission that drafted the National Charter for Educational Reform described below.

In 1998, the newly installed government formed a Royal Commission to draft a National Charter for Educational Reform (La Charte Nationale). This policy reform manifesto was passed by Parliament in 1999 and led to the creation of two implementing laws in 2000. The National Charter lays out a comprehensive vision of a rehabilitated school system, decentralized decision making and development, private-public partnerships, and clear mandates for equal rights and access to education for boys and girls at all levels in urban and rural Morocco.

In 1999, King Mohammed VI publicly expressed his support for educational reform and the promotion of women's rights. In 2000, he announced that the period 2001–2009 would be the Education Decade and stated that educational reform would be the second national priority after territorial integrity.

GEA Morocco's accomplishments in legitimization are reflected by the favorable socio-political and policy climate that has become prevalent in Morocco. GEA supported the Ministry of National Education's effort to gather information from other countries to inform the government's position and initiatives on girls' education. One element of reform included links to other sectors to form partnerships to promote girls' education. This was especially important for guiding its relationship with the WAFABANK and other financial institutions that provided support for primary schools.

As a result of the Ministry's emphasis on the importance of educating all girls and boys, of gathering solid information, and of forming cooperative partnerships with all sectors, a change in attitude toward girls' education has become evident in Morocco. The private sector has revised its view of the need for educational reform, especially regarding rural primary education, and has supported reform as a national movement that will be good for the country and good for business. This policy environment, in turn, has encouraged multi-sectoral partnerships through a consensus-building policy process that is collaborative among sectors and articulates common social goals and shared values.

The identification of country-specific barriers to girls' education with public, private, NGO, and media actors and the subsequent creation of a national constituency of public and private sector organizations were necessary precursors to creating partnership programs. The partnership programs then could address those barriers, facilitate ownership of the process (including implementation and expansion), and define the partnership-supported interventions within locally available human and financial resources.

Building a Lasting Girls' Education Constituency (Task 2)

Building on legitimization, the CFAC identifies constituency building as the next step in the process. Constituency building is the task of creating stakeholders—those who appreciate the problem of girls' education, who believe that they would benefit from the problem's solution, and who are thus willing to invest personal and organizational resources in support of a project or policy to promote girls' education. Developing a constituency was a major occupation during the life of the GEA project. Specific notable activities and strategies in building a constituency for girls' education follow:

- Developing a set of constituency inventories was essential for implementing all future constituency-building activities. These inventories included a detailed inventory of NGOs working on the national and regional levels, irrespective of their focus on equity or girls' education, and a database and inventories on private sector firms. Several inventories were produced:

  - A document titled *Qui fait quoi au Maroc* (Who does what in Morocco), published for use in GEA and partner NGO networking
  - Lists of industrial firms in Rabat, the capital, and Casablanca
  - A list of industrial factories in the five pilot provinces where GEA had concentrated its rural efforts

- The national NGO conference of 1997 reached 100 stakeholders who had never previously met to address girls' education.
- A new network of NGOs committed themselves to including girls' education activities in their work in the future.

Caftan 2000 and Caftan 2001

GEA helped create and strengthen a girls' education constituency by assisting actors in the public, private, NGO, and media sectors, and in local communities, with their work to develop agreements and activities in favor of girls' education. GEA expanded the constituency for educational reform well beyond those few champions and organizations that were committed to girls' education in 1997 by working with actors (especially NGOs) whose primary goal was not girls' education. GEA educated, persuaded, and assisted these partners in the public, private, and NGO sectors, as well as in the media and communities, to work in support of girls' education, even if it was not their initial or primary goal. GEA did not approach them with a preset method and a corresponding list of "must do" actions. Rather, GEA worked with the actions or activities that the partners themselves had chosen to initiate to develop a cooperative process that ultimately got the partners interested in providing more support to girls' education. GEA's accomplishments were the result of a dedicated effort on the part of its staff to be a catalyst for strengthening a broad network of Moroccans in all sectors of society who actively support girls' education.

> GEA worked with the actions or activities that the partners themselves had chosen to initiate to develop a cooperative process that ultimately got the partners to become interested in providing more support to girls' education.

The programs that resulted from this collaboration addressed the barriers to girls' education, facilitated ownership of the process (including implementation and expansion), and defined the partnership-supported interventions within locally available human and financial resources.

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Realigning and Mobilizing Resources in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 3)

GEA's vision was to rely on local capacities and use national resources to ensure the sustainability and replicability of its actions and activities in favor of girls' education. GEA used its resources to bring people together and to build capacities to bring about change, not to supplant the role of leaders and service providers in the environment. To encourage NGOs to sponsor schools and girls' education initiatives and to influence other donors and the private sector to become involved in educational reform, GEA staff networked tirelessly.

From the outset of the project, the GEA Coordinator sought out and maintained contacts with the donor community. Initially, the contacts were made to find out what other donors were doing in development in Morocco. By establishing personal relationships with donors, GEA was able to solicit donor attendance at the national conferences described in this report. Because of the progress made in establishing the legitimacy of and broad constituency for girls' education, the donors soon became engaged in the cause by

- including a focus on girls' education in their program activities;
- co-sponsoring a national conference; or
- contributing financially either to one of the new structures (see the next section) or to girls' education projects that were put in place, such as the Girls' Rural Scholarship Program.

Prior to GEA, the private sector had little or nothing to do with support for primary education, let alone girls' education. GEA staff understood that significant resources were available in the private sector and that the time was right to get private firms to support the "associative movement" (local NGOs) and development in Morocco. More important, GEA staff understood that mobilizing the support of the private sector would require its own specific strategy.

The first step was collecting information on the sector. A database was created and a set of inventories was produced on which the mobilization strategy would be based. By mid-1998, the GEA coordinator had started a series of formal meetings to explain the situation and the economic importance of girls' education and to describe the multi-sectoral approach of the GEA project. The meetings generated some tentative indications of interest but no appreciable groundswell of support—the notion of public-private partnership for development objectives was still new in Morocco.

Further legitimacy for private sector support for girls' education was established by a special conference for Moroccan businessmen and their peers, titled Enterprise and Education: A Development Imperative, which was conducted in Marrakech in 1999. The status of this event was burnished by having U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as the keynote speaker. The conference turned the tide in favor of mobilizing private resources for girls' education. In short order, three major Moroccan banks (WAFABANK, Banques Populaires, and CNCA (Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole)) as well as two national business associations (GPBM—Groupement Professionnel des Banques du Maroc—and CGEM—Confédération Générale d'Entreprises du Marocaines) got on board with support for girls' education initiatives under the motto Education for All. These are described under Task 5, Mobilizing Action.

In all, the GEA project was relatively successful in mobilizing new resources for girls' education in Morocco. Some examples of the groups that GEA succeeded in mobilizing follow:

- The NGO Comité d'Entraide de l'Eglise Evangélique, which agreed to sponsor some schools in the Province of Essaouria to support increased girls' education
- The NGO Horizon Solidarité Humaine, which agreed to improve school infrastructures (e.g., canteens, latrines, wells) in the southern provinces (Sous-Maas-Dra)
- The NGO Association Marocaine de Solidarite et de Developpement, which improved infrastructure in the schools in the Province of Errachidia

GEA succeed in getting several donors to support girls' education:

- The Swedish Embassy
- The Canadian Embassy
- The Japanese Embassy
- The British Embassy
- The European Union
- UNFP—United Nation Family Planning

Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 4)

GEA did not seek to change existing institutions but rather to modify the organizational structures working in girls' education by supporting the creation of new coalitions and working arrangements. Two outstanding new structures were initiated by GEA partners with project support:

- The creation of the Girls' Education Support Committee (CSSF), which is an independent, non-governmental, non-profit organization dedicated to improving girls' education in rural areas

- The creation of Al Jisr (The Bridge), which is the first time that private sector and public institutions have gotten together to share the objective of promoting increased girls' and boys' education

Mobilizing Action in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 5)

Building constituencies (Task 2), realigning resources (Task 3), and modifying organizational structures (Task 4) are all necessary steps in operationalizing the reforms outlined in the National Charter. However, these changes in and of themselves are not sufficient or sustainable in mobilizing real action to address the resilient barriers to educational reform on the national, regional, and local levels. GEA capitalized on its accomplishments described above by supporting the move to concrete action, again by acting through indigenous intermediaries.

Three major examples illustrate GEA's success in stimulating "mobilization for action":

- Girls' education action planning among NGOs resulted in the Girls' Rural Scholarship Program and the implementation of school improvement and infrastructure projects.
- Al Jisr Business-School Partnerships to Improve Girls' Education resulted in pilot projects in three primary schools involving the development of small school libraries and the improvement of the schools' infrastructure. More than 50 Business-School Partnership Committees have been formed, and each one is currently developing action plans that it will submit to Al Jisr for coordination.
- Caftan 2000 / Caftan 2001 resulted in contributions of more that $10,000 from various donors, land for girls' boarding houses, equipment, appliances, and various goods and food.

Overall, in terms of mobilizing action, GEA intervention led to the institution of several national associations and partnerships, which GEA has continued to support. As a result of these associations and partnerships, a number of national projects, media events and campaigns, and small community-level infrastructure projects have been realized. At the national level, the leaders in several sectors, including government, business, CSOs, NGOs, and the media, have reached out to their counterparts and formed partnerships that initiated and implemented these projects and activities. GEA notes that the climate for public dialogue about girls' education has changed, from being "non-discussable" to awareness, mobilization, and direct support from multiple sectors. Capacity building for local NGOs to negotiate and work with donors and local government has been a central part of the initiative, especially at the local level. This effort has been facilitated and reinforced by the Ministry of National Education through directives to local education authorities and its openness to forming partnerships with CSOs, NGOs, and private sector organizations.

Concrete action plans, including evaluation plans, proved helpful in focusing discussions, agreements, and actions, especially among partners across sectors with different backgrounds, perspectives, and expectations. These plans included the national action plans, developed through GEA-sponsored conferences, and the individual action plans of NGOs, CSSF, and Al Jisr. The development of these action plans also fostered a high level of local ownership over the planning process and the implementation. Such ownership was evidenced by commitments of time and money from all partners—as well as their enthusiasm.

Monitoring the Progress of Systemic Change (Task 6)

The last CFAC task is monitoring the impact of actions, which is a key element of sustained change management. This dimension is important because effective monitoring systems provide information to guide future actions (i.e., mobilize resources and design and modify organizational structures) in support of a policy goal. In addition, if an initiative has successfully achieved its policy objectives, an effective monitoring system provides information to increase legitimacy, build constituencies, and accumulate additional resources. In short, effective monitoring provides an important feedback loop to all the other dimensions of the policy change process.

The implementation of education policies in Morocco has not yet progressed to the point that monitoring systems have been established to focus *specifically* on the policy implementation process. The Ministry of National Education's monitoring and evaluation unit compiles a comprehensive set of aggregate data on the status of education, though it features only information generated within the formal education system. Consequently, increases in NGO and private support and community involvement, as well as most of the systemic changes called for in the National Charter, are not reflected in the MNE monitoring system.

Donor-driven tracking systems for project implementation do exist in Morocco and do provide isolated information on basic educational and systemic indicators for the specific geographical areas where program inputs are being administered. For instance, under the USAID-funded Morocco Education for Girls (MEG) project, MSI has trained more than 200 Ministry personnel in the basics of performance measurement and has helped eight provincial management team establish a free-standing Educational Management and Information System (EMIS). Independently of the Ministry's centralized reporting system, these EMISs have been developed in consultation with school directors, PTAs, and local community authorities.

GEA did provide the MNE with comparative educational data from other countries to inform its position, as well as information on other countries' experiences in girls' education and multi-sectoral partnerships. As already noted (under Task 2), this was especially important for guiding the relationship with private enterprises, the banking sector, and other financial institutions that provided support for primary schools. In terms of more systematic monitoring of reform, GEA implemented several interventions over the course of the last five years that supported monitoring and evaluating partner efforts to implement girls' education policy. Starting in 1999, GEA assembled and distributed reports of annual school statistics to all partner NGOs. Several other interventions were designed to advance accountability and transparency in the reform process:

- Girls' Education in Rural Areas: Evaluate and Act—1998
- Evaluate and Act follow-up workshop—1999
- The Scholarship Program mid-term evaluation

It is noteworthy that GEA instituted some basic evaluative and monitoring practices. However, these fall short of a coordinated monitoring of the change process. It would be useful to explore how the COSEF might take on some of the responsibilities for monitoring, or at least for convening formal discussions where implementing partners could share their experiences and engage in evaluative reflection.

GEA made significant progress in the Framework's Tasks 1, 2, and 3. The constituency for girls' education in Morocco today is varied, robust, and prepared to mobilize resources to bring about reform in education. This is a tremendous achievement, given the socio-political environment in Morocco just five years ago. However, although GEA has demonstrated promising approaches in the Framework's Tasks 4, 5, and 6, much remains to be done. The new structures are enthusiastic but far from self-sustaining. CSSF and Al Jisr have yet to move from pilot or demonstration activities to large-scale impact, and each organization has yet to experience inevitable changes in leadership.

Section III-C: Changing Girls' Education in Peru

THE PERUVIAN EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT PRIOR TO GEA

Peru, the second largest country in South America, has become increasingly urbanized in the past decade. At present, more than eight million people inhabit the capital city of Lima alone—more than one-third of the entire population. Nevertheless, the rural population in Peru continues to outnumber the urban population, and in rural villages and towns, social services such as quality education still lag far behind urban centers. These communities have been especially hard hit economically after four years of recession and, a few years prior to that, a decade of vigilante violence. Access to quality education is a problem for all rural children in Peru but especially for rural girls, who complete primary school at far lower rates than all other children in the country (see Table 7).

Table 7.-Percent of Peruvians Between the Ages of 15 and 24 Who Did Not Complete Primary School, 1997

Urban	Men	15.6 percent
	Women	16.6
Rural	Men	28.3
	Women	39.5

Source: Carmen Montero and Teresa Tovar (October, 1999). *Agenda Abierta para la Educación de las Niñas Rurales.* Lima, Peru: Red Nacional de Educación de la Niña.

Peru was the last of the three GEA countries to initiate a national project, but momentum for advocacy on behalf of girls' education had been growing for years. A national focus on girls' education in Peru began in the 1960s and 1970s and led to substantial increases in female school enrollments and completion rates in urban areas. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, urban women entered the professional workforce in large numbers and became a more active political constituency. This activism culminated in the creation of multiple research- and action-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the 1980s as well as a national network for the promotion of women in 1990. Further pressure from national groups and the international spotlight on women's issues in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 compelled then-President Fujimori to create a federal Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development in 1996.

OVERVIEW OF THE PERUVIAN GIRLS' EDUCATION PROJECT

The USAID Office of Women in Development (EGAT/WID) launched GEA in Peru in April 1998 when the CARE-Peru office in Lima created the New Horizons for Girls' Education project. The goal of the project is to increase girls' completion of primary school, particularly in rural areas and among indigenous populations. Between April 1998 and March 2002, the project had a substantial impact on the general discourse about girls' education. It enjoys the active support of the national government as well as international and domestic civil society organizations (CSOs). Its activities have (a) improved the general knowledge about the importance of girls' education, (b) inspired national legislation on rural girls' education, and (c) inspired girls' education projects at the regional and local levels.

Figure 4 summarizes the organization of the project and the major activities undertaken over the past four years. It indicates that New Horizons is sponsored by EGAT/WID, which is supported by DevTech Systems, and is part of the overall GEA, which is administered by the American Institutes for Research. CARE-USA is the contractor that serves as the liaison to the main New Horizons project office, which is housed in the Lima office of CARE-Peru. At the national level, New Horizons focuses on three activities: support for the national girls' education network, project activities in the Department of Ayacucho, and other regional girls' education networks around the country. The national girls' education network is involved in three main activities: investigation and communications, advocacy, and interaction with regional girls' education networks. At the regional level, New Horizons is also involved in a pilot project in small Ayacucho communities. The chronology of these activities is summarized in Table 8 and then described in detail later in this section of the report.

Important issues such as civil rights, political rights, domestic violence, and public health dominated the agenda of the Peruvian women's movement through the early 1990s. Awareness about the problems associated with girls' education began to grow again after the USAID commissioned several education studies in Peru in 1995. In 1997, when girls' education became incorporated into the USAID strategic framework, a USAID team from Washington, D.C., traveled to Peru to investigate the possibility of including Peru in GEA. The team found that gender differences in rural educational enrollment and completion rates were more striking than they had previously imagined but that Peru had a supportive public sector and civil society infrastructure that was amenable to working on girls' education.

Figure 4.–Organizational and Activity Map of the New Horizons for Girls' Education Project

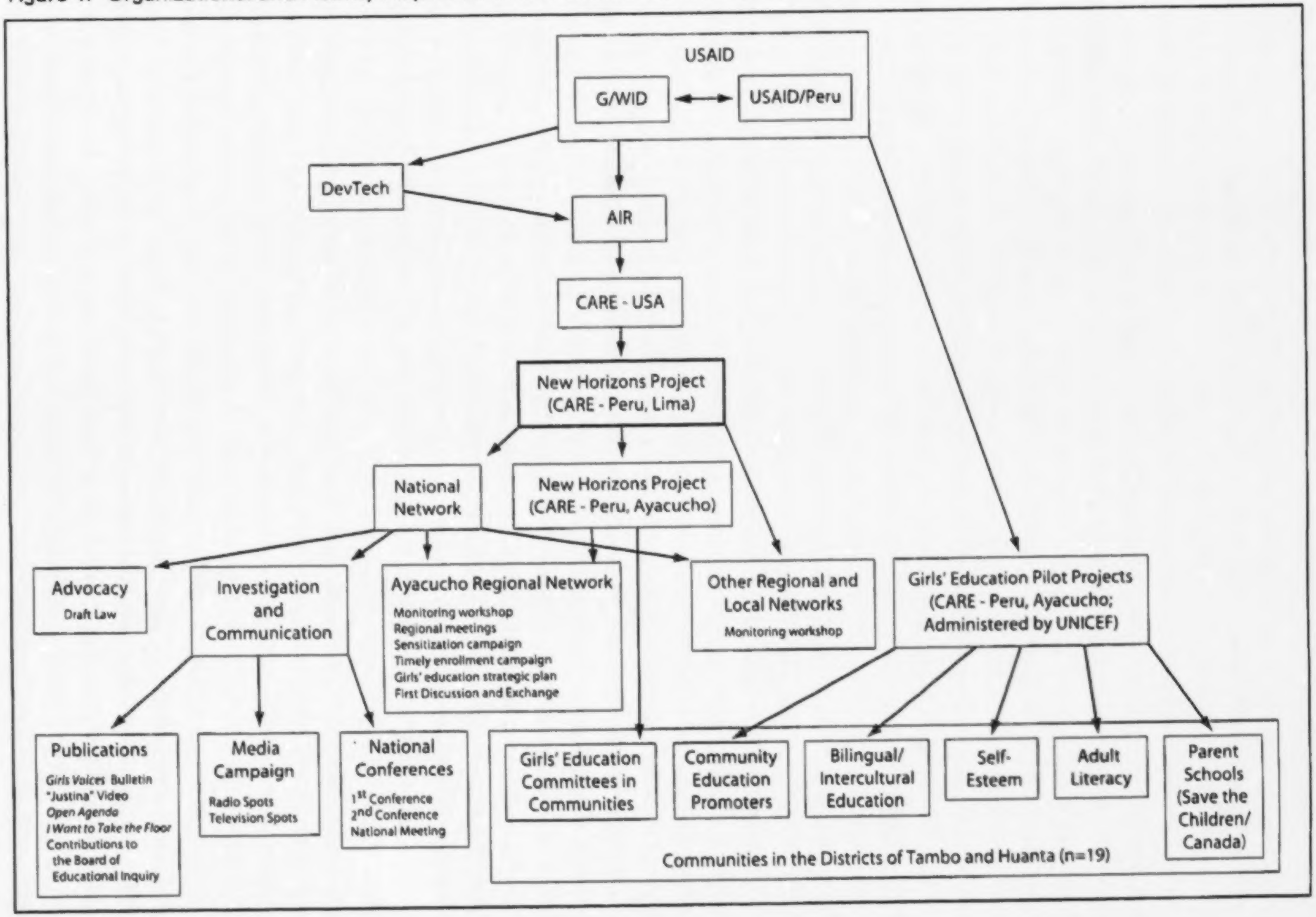
USAID
G/WID
USAID/Peru
DevTech
AIR
CARE - USA
New Horizons Project (CARE - Peru, Lima)
National Network
New Horizons Project (CARE - Peru, Ayacucho)
Advocacy
Draft Law
Investigation and Communication
Ayacucho Regional Network
Monitoring workshop
Regional meetings
Sensitization campaign
Timely enrollment campaign
Girls' education strategic plan
First Discussion and Exchange
Other Regional and Local Networks
Monitoring workshop
Girls' Education Pilot Projects (CARE - Peru, Ayacucho; Administered by UNICEF)
Publications
Girls Voices Bulletin
"Justina" Video
Open Agenda
I Want to Take the Floor
Contributions to the Board of Educational Inquiry
Media Campaign
Radio Spots
Television Spots
National Conferences
1st Conference
2nd Conference
National Meeting
Girls' Education Committees in Communities
Community Education Promoters
Bilingual/ Intercultural Education
Self-Esteem
Adult Literacy
Parent Schools (Save the Children/ Canada)
Communities in the Districts of Tambo and Huanta (n=19)

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Table 8.–Chronology of Major Activities Associated With the New Horizons Project and Girls' Education in Peru

1995		USAID/Peru commissions educational studies about education in Peru.
		The United Nations hosts the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.
1997		Girls' education becomes incorporated into the USAID strategic framework.
		A USAID team from Washington, D.C., travels to Peru to investigate the possibility of including Peru in GEA.
1998		USAID/Peru and EGAT/WID decide to establish the New Horizons for Girls' Education project.
	April	A project office is created within CARE/Peru.
	May	A delegation from Peru participates in the USAID International Conference on Girls' Education.
		Delegates decide to create a national network for girls' education.
		New Horizons undertakes a situational analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho.
1999	Jan.	The project completes the situational analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho.
	June	The national network hosts the First National Conference on Girls' Education in Rural Areas.
		Girls' education advocates in the Departments of Ayacucho, Amazonas, Junín and Huancavelica, and San Martín for regional networks and local committees.
	Sept.	The Ayacucho girls' education project begins working with local communities to develop girls' education committees.
	Oct.	The national network publishes the *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls.*
2000	Jan.	The national network works with McCann Erickson to develop television spots to increase national awareness about girls' education, the first of which is aired in March 2000.
	April	The Ayacucho girls' education project launches a bilingual and intercultural education activity and a self-esteem activity in pilot communities in Huanta and Tambo, respectively, and the bilingual and intercultural education activity holds a six-day teacher training workshop in Huanta.
	May	The self-esteem activity holds its first three-day teacher training work shop in Tambo.
	July	The Ayacucho girls' education network hosts the First Meeting and Interchange of Experiences on Rural Girls' Education.
	Sept.	The national network hosts the Second National Conference on Girls Education in Rural Areas.
	Dec.	The Ayacucho girls' education project conducts an evaluation of its pilot project.
		Partner NGOs create a girls' education promotional video titled *Justina.*
		A bill is introduced in Congress to create a Law for the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas.
		The Ayacucho girls' education network works with regional Ministry of Education officials to develop a five-year strategic plan for girls' education for the department.

Table 8.–Chronology of Major Activities Associated With the New Horizons Project and Girls' Education in Peru—Continued

2001	Jan.	The Ayacucho girls' education project begins adult literacy workshops in pilot communities.
	April	The bilingual and intercultural education activity and self-esteem activity in Ayacucho are combined and offered in all pilot communities.
	May	The national network hosts the National Meeting on the Education of Rural Girls.
		A major television station makes an hour-long program about girls' education based on the First National Meeting.
	June	The Ayacucho girls' education project begins its educational promoters pilot project.
		The national network publishes *I Want to Take the Floor: Communication and Integration of Girls in the Family, School, and Community.*
		New Horizons organizes departmental workshops on monitoring girls' school attendance.
	July	The national network publishes *Contributions of Florecer—the National Network for Girls' Education—to the National Board of Educational Inquiry.*
	Aug.	The Ayacucho girls' education project begins its parent schools pilot project.
	Oct.	The Peruvian Congress enacts the law for the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas.
2002	Feb.	Members decide that the National Network for the Promotion of Women will assume administrative responsibilities for the coordination of Florecer.
	March	The New Horizons project is scheduled to end.
	Sept.	The Ayacucho pilot project is scheduled to end.

Although Peru has attained a high level of primary school enrollment for all school-age children, 94 percent in 1997,[34] other statistics suggest that girls fare worse than boys in a number of ways.[35] In the overall population, a lower percentage of females attend school, complete school, and can read and write than males. Women also have relatively fewer years of schooling than men. Gender differences in school access continue to exist, particularly for girls in rural communities and indigenous girls in rural and urban communities. Even after girls begin to attend school, they face much stronger social and cultural obstacles than boys in completing their education. The statistical unit of the Ministry of Education disputes some of the interpretations of these educational statistics, but the belief about gender differences in school access, persistence, and experiences was strong enough to convince USAID to include Peru in GEA with the overall support of the Ministry of Education.

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[34] World Bank. (2000). *World development indicators 2000.* Washington, DC: Author.

[35] Montero, C., & Tovar, T. (1999, October). *Agenda abierta para la educación de las niñas rurales.* Lima, Peru: Red Nacional de Educación de la Niña.

CREATING A NATIONAL NETWORK FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION IN PERU

One of the first tasks of the New Horizons project was to organize a delegation to attend an international USAID conference on girls' education in Washington, D.C., in May 1998—a month after the project began in Peru. Twenty-seven leaders from Peru participated in this event—the largest contingent from any country in the world. The delegation included the First Lady of Peru (ex-President Fujimori's daughter), members of Congress, ministry officials, the representative of UNICEF-Peru, and leaders of eminent women's organizations.

This event was instrumental in the future success of New Horizons for two reasons. First, it focused national leaders' attention on girls' education as a national and an international issue. Participants were already aware of different challenges that girls face in the classroom, but they were not aware of the specific problems of school access and persistence that plague indigenous girls throughout Peru as well as non-indigenous girls in rural communities. Second, the conference created an esprit among the participants, who agreed at least implicitly that the New Horizons project would be a legitimate mechanism for championing the issue of girls' access and persistence in primary education, a niche that was previously unfilled in the women's movement in Peru. The conference precipitated immediate personal and organizational commitments; it was there that the group decided to create a national network to work on behalf of girls' education.

The original network comprised 18 leaders and representatives of the public and private sectors, academic institutions, NGOs, and international cooperation agencies. The list included the Office of the First Lady, the Ministry of Education (three members), the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development, Congress (three members), Peru 2021, USAID/Peru, UNICEF-Peru, La Inmaculada College (secondary school for boys), the Catholic University Faculty of Education, the National Network for the Promotion of Women, representatives of the press, the Education Forum, the Institute of Peruvian Studies, and CARE-Peru. Between October 1998 and September 1999, the network expanded to include other institutions, namely, the Ministry of Health, the National Confederation of Private Business Institutions (CONFIEP), Radio Programs of Peru, Save the Children (United Kingdom and Canada), and Action Aid/Spain.

Soon after the May conference, participants in the national network began to organize themselves and their activities. Group members decided that their primary mode of interaction would be monthly breakfast meetings, with a small technical committee organizing all the proposals from member organizations to create the monthly agenda. This committee includes CARE-Peru, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development, UNICEF-Peru, USAID/Peru, and the Institute for Peruvian Studies. During the breakfasts, the larger group discusses and debates the issues until it reaches general agreement on a position or plan of action. *Ad hoc* committees were also created when necessary to work on specific activities. The Country Coordinator of New Horizons, Ana María Robles, chairs the meetings. Although the project takes responsibility for the administrative tasks of the network, hosting responsibilities for monthly meetings rotate among network members.

Despite the good will and solidarity that conference participants brought back to Peru from the International Girls' Education Conference in Washington, it was not easy for people to become active advocates who were willing to invest personal and organizational resources to support the project. Initially, the network had to overcome some reluctance and mistrust. For example, it was difficult to acquire active support for a national collaboration that expected to bring together stakeholders with different backgrounds, perspectives, and interests who were not used to working with one another. Add some possible consternation about a project that was initiated in another country and dealt with a relatively new topic, but offered no additional money to support the partners in the network, and the ability of the network to develop a consensus agenda through breakfast meetings in less than one year is impressive.

According to Ana María Robles, the network was able to gain people's trust because it created its own identity separate from that of the project. All members were involved in the development of the network's strategic plan, from the initial visioning exercise to the final approval of the plan. Second, partners became heavily invested in the diagnosis of girls' education that was prepared for the First National Conference on Education for Rural Girls. Technical staff from member organizations participated in collecting data, writing, and reviewing the diagnostic report, *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*, and all partners shared leadership responsibilities and credit for the document and the conference. Third, New Horizons staff have been careful to acknowledge and incorporate the organizational interests of network partners when developing network activities. This effort includes proposing activities in which partners have expressed interest, delegating responsibilities that match those interests, and giving credit for collaborative efforts.

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Fourth, New Horizons staff members say that it was important for them to keep in mind the distinction between organizational and individual support for network activities. On the one hand, it is important to involve energized leaders and technical people in a network and to encourage such people to work on behalf of network goals. On the other hand, it is perhaps more important to develop strong relationships with institutions first. Institutional relationships, which transcend the personal involvement of individual representatives at any given time, are more stable in the long run than individual relationships because individuals tend to move into different job positions and be-

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come unavailable to continue their network participation. This is particularly true in countries that have frequent turnover of governmental officials. At the beginning of the New Horizons project, project staff made a concerted effort to encourage the highest-ranking government officials to become active participants in network activities. This strategy became difficult to sustain, however, given the speed with which people change government jobs in Peru. In some instances, people have continued their participation in the national network even after moving into another job, but these relationships are still more difficult to maintain.

Attendance at monthly network meetings has been exceptionally high over the past three years; one participant estimates that more than 90 percent of members attend every meeting. Two constituencies, however, have been difficult to persuade to attend these meetings: business and media representatives. These partners seem to have less flexible work schedules, less patience for ongoing deliberation about issues, more responsiveness to short discussions that require quick decisions and action, and less substantive knowledge about girls' education to contribute to the monthly dialogue. For most participants, education or gender issues are part of their core work activities. This is not the case for business and media partners, for whom these issues may be important but are mostly peripheral to their core work.

For these reasons, the network is thinking about redefining its membership criteria. To become a core member of the network, organizations would have to make certain commitments, such as a commitment to participate in monthly meetings. The goal would still be a multi-sectoral partnership with a balance among members who represent different perspectives. All others would become "friends" of the network, who would be apprised of network activities and invited to participate in activities on an *ad hoc* basis but who would not be expected to commit themselves to regular meetings or committee work. Current network participants, including business and media representatives, would be able to choose their network status.

Despite the fact that the New Horizons project is scheduled to end in March 2002, the national network for girls' education has developed a comprehensive operating plan for 2001-2002 and an extensive action plan for 2001-2006. By July 2001, the network had identified three overall objectives for the next five years:

1. A law on educational equality for rural girls will be ratified by the national Congress.
2. Decision makers from the public sector, businesses, and civil society will be better informed about the education of rural girls.
3. Members in the national network will incorporate actions and strategies to improve girls' education in their own organizational structures.

Members of the network have also outlined 12 comprehensive activities that the network plans to take to achieve these results.

In February 2002, members decided that the National Network for the Promotion of Women would assume the technical coordination of Florecer, formerly called the National Network for Girls' Education, for the next year. As a part of this transition, a new executive secretariat will be created to carry out the activities established by the technical committee. Realizing that the new secretariat will need resources to accomplish Florecer's goals, members have agreed to establish a minimum donation for future affiliation with the network, as well as attempt to solicit additional funds from cooperating international agencies. Save the Children has offered to donate $5,000 to fund the executive secretariat.

FACILITATING NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The New Horizons project has identified three sets of activities to improve girls' education in Peru:

1. Identifying the problems associated with girls' education in Peru
2. Increasing awareness about those problems
3. Identifying and implementing appropriate solutions

The national network has been key in helping achieve each goal. This section discusses how the network has identified problems and increased awareness through studies, publications, conferences, and a media campaign; how it has identified and is seeking to implement appropriate solutions vis-à-vis a law on rural girls' education; and how it is working with regional networks and local committees to implement activities to improve girls' access to and persistence in primary school.

Investigation and Communication

Over the past four years, the national network has investigated and communicated the problems associated with girls' education in a variety of ways and to a variety of audiences. Members have drawn on national-level statistics as well as interviews and testimonials to understand the barriers associated with girls' education. Members then communicated that information through conferences, print materials, television, and radio.

National Conferences

National-level conferences and meetings have been important events for gathering and disseminating information about the importance of girls' education and the barriers to access and persistence. The national network has sponsored three major national events over the past four years:

1. First National Conference on the Education of Rural Girls, June 22–23, 1999
2. Second National Conference on the Education of Rural Girls, September 28–29, 2000
3. National Meeting on the Education of Rural Girls, May 3–4, 2001

Conferences and meetings are major undertakings. More than 350 people attended the first and second conferences, including the Minister of Education, the Minister of the Promotion of Women and Human Development, members of Congress, other national and local political leaders, business executives, journalists, civic leaders, university faculty, teachers, parents, and girls from 15 departments in Peru.

Attendees were sponsored in different ways. Those from Lima (more than 100 each year) attended at their own cost. Participants traveling from other parts of the country (approximately 230 each year) were sponsored by their own organizations (primarily NGOs, technical institutes, and universities), which paid for transportation and lodging. If a person's host organization had no budget for conference participation or travel, the participant received a stipend from the New Horizons project or from funds donated by Procter and Gamble, the Canadian Embassy, Save the Children—United Kingdom, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Action Aid/Spain, the United Nations Population Funds (UNFPA), the German Cooperation (GTZ), and Intervida (a Spanish foundation).

Conferences were opportunities to focus national attention on the issue of girls' education and to develop strategic alliances between the national network and local advocates.

The First and Second National Conferences provided opportunities for participants to hear from leaders, share their own views about problems and solutions, and develop community-level action plans in support of girls' education. Conferences were also opportunities to focus national attention on the issue of girls' education and to develop strategic alliances between the national network and local advocates. As a result of the First National Conference, for example, local NGOs and public sector entities decided to create regional girls' education networks in the Departments of Amazonas, Junín and Huancavelica, and San Martín. At the Second National Conference, the participants proposed that the years 2000–2005 be designated the Quinquennium of Girls' Education in Rural Areas. This proposal reflected recommendations from the same conference and stimulated the national network to begin to pursue the enactment of a law on rural girls' education.

The third event, the National Meeting, was substantially different in form, content, and purpose from the First and Second National Conferences. It was precipitated by the work of a National Board of Educational Inquiry that investigated public opinions about the future of education in Peru. The goal of the Board was to collect information for six months and then draft a report that the National Commis-

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sion on Education will use to develop a long-term educational plan for the country. The Commission created the Board to give citizens an opportunity to shape long-term national educational policy, an experimental process intended to increase the legitimacy of national policy and the national educational system. To support this effort, the national network collaborated with the Board and volunteered to host the National Meeting as an opportunity to add its voice and advocate on behalf of girls' education. The national network brought together 57 girls from 10 departments for the two-day event. The girls shared their thoughts with the Board about their vision for the future of education in Peru.

The Commission published summary results on September 22, 2001, and expected the comprehensive document to be available by the end of the year. Results indicate that a substantial number of people identified girls' education as a priority in four departments across the country: Ayacucho, Piura, Puno, and Iquitos. More Peruvians overall identified equalizing educational opportunities in rural areas as a broader issue of concern, since it is a priority of the new government. This result is fortuitous as well: If rural education becomes a focus of national educational policy, the impact on rural girls' schooling will likely be positive.

Recently, the girls had an opportunity to meet with Gloria Helfer and Paulina Arpasi, Congressional leaders who were just re-elected and are participating in the new government. Congresswoman Arpasi, a leader of the indigenous group Aymara, is recognized for her work with a confederation of rural women and mothers' clubs in the Department of Puno.

Publications

One of the first products produced by the network was a study by two member organizations, the Institute for Peruvian Studies and the Educational Forum, which used national statistics to describe the national educational problems of rural girls and indigenous girls in urban areas. This information was presented to participants at the First National Conference, who then used the information to develop their own recommendations for improving rural girls' education in Peru. The analysis and recommendations were combined into an attractive, glossy, color publication, *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls*, which the network published in October 1999. In August 2000, 2,000 copies of the *Open Agenda* were reprinted for wide distribution.

In September 1999, one network partner, the Educational Forum, organized a national Education for All workshop in which participants presented studies related to girls' education in Peru. At this event, the Titikaka Network from the Department of Puno presented a study titled *Girls in Rural Schools: Formally Educated, Questionably Learned.* The authors collected testimonies that demonstrate the exclusion of girls from school. One such testimony came from 12-year-old Juana, who lives in Zona Quechua:

> *My two brothers are studying in Puno, one in secondary and the other in a technical institute. Even after my parents sold many of their belongings, there was not enough money for my sister to study. They said that it is dangerous for girls and that she (my sister) must get married and have someone to take care of her. Why is it that men have more time for everything? They can study more, but we, the girls, cannot. Boys learn faster, but girls have better grades.*

At the same event, the Lupuna Association of Iquitos presented a study titled *Education of the Rural, Indigenous Girl in the Amazon Region.* This study highlights the fact that the Amazon region has the highest level of exclusion of girls from school. In 1993, national statistics showed that 25 percent of the 6- to 11-year-old population from indigenous communities did not attend school. However, teachers in this area report that, on average, half of the girls do not attend school.

The national network produced two other documents, first in draft form in preparation for, and later based on, the subsequent national conferences. The first, *I Want to Take the Floor: Communication and Integration of Girls in the Family, School, and Community* (June 2001), was based on the proceedings of the Second National Conference and was sponsored by CARE-Peru, the Ministry of Education, and Technical Cooperation from the Federal Republic of Germany. It describes problems that rural girls face in communicating with their families, schools, and communities. It then recommends ways to improve communication and ensure a voice for rural girls in national development.

The second document, *Contributions of Florecer—the National Network for Girls' Education—to the National Board of Educational Inquiry*, is based on the Third National Conference, the National Meeting on the Education of Rural Girls, with the National Board of Educational Inquiry. The document describes the meeting as well as the thoughts of network members and rural girls from around the country about six long-term educational issues in Peru. Two thousand copies of both documents were produced in a glossy, color format for wide distribution. The latter document was sponsored by the New Horizons project and the Office of the First Lady.

The national network has used other kinds of publications as well to share information about girls' education in Peru. For instance, Save the Children/United Kingdom and Action Aid/Spain financed a short video, *Justina*, about the lives of rural girls in Peru. Copies were sent to the project's girls' education liaisons in every department in the country. By the end of September 2001, the network had published five color bulletins on girls' education in a series titled "Girls' Voices." These four-page bulletins provide updates about the activities of the national network, regional networks, and local committees as well as the latest developments in advocacy for girls' education in Peru (1,000 copies per issue). The network has also published a color notice on card stock (front and back) about the draft law on the education of rural girls that was pending at the time; color posters of the logo from the Second National Conference (1,120 copies); and various color brochures about the project and the purpose of the national network.

Media Campaign

Although conference planning can be a considerable logistical challenge, it is much easier to communicate about the importance of girls' education to a group of 300 conference participants than it is to share the same information with a national populace. Nevertheless, the national network undertook that mass communications challenge with the assistance of an international media-consulting firm, McCann Erickson, which subsequently became a partner in the national network. The initial contact between the New Horizons project and McCann Erickson took place because the international chairman of McCann Erickson is a member of CARE-USA's board of directors. McCann Erickson's intensive involvement in the network's media campaign, however, is also due to the personal interest that McCann Erickson's creative director took in the project, both as a citizen and the father of two girls.

McCann Erickson's contribution to the media campaign was substantial. In total, six staff members worked on the project: the creative director, two graphics specialists, two production staff, and one account services person. They worked closely with a small sub-group from the national network to develop and implement the network's media approach. The first question was how to make people aware of the national network and its work in support of girls' education. The challenge was that girls' education is one of many important social issues affecting Peru at present. It is difficult for people to focus on individual problems when they are concerned about their own well-being. In addition, the creation of the national network had received some media attention initially, but most newspaper articles were relegated to the social pages rather than the front page. In advertising-speak, the network lacked "brand" recognition. Its name, National Network for Girls' Education, was too long for people to remember, and the word *national* implied that the organization had a direct government affiliation.

In brainstorming sessions, the working group first came up with the name Renacer, meaning "rebirth." This was a play on the Spanish words for "national network" (REd NACional). Unfortunately, another group was already using the name. McCann Erickson conducted focus groups to test people's reaction to various names and logos. The final resolution was to name the network Florecer, meaning "to bloom," and to use as its logo a drawing of a girl reading.

Even with the new name and logo, a risk of limited project visibility and a fear that awareness of the initiative would be limited to intellectuals remained. The network would have to develop a strategy to send a targeted message about girls' education to various audiences over and over again. The advice was to not dilute the message with multiple images. Thus, in March 2000, the national network and McCann Erickson decided to develop radio and television publicity spots.

The media working group again convened to make strategic decisions about audience and message for the television advertising campaign. Participants decided that the message (a) should be about responsibility and the importance of the entire country's taking responsibility for girls' education and (b) should not compare boys with girls. The goal of New Horizons and Florecer was to improve girls' education but not diminish boys' education in the name of equality. The media message would compare girls' education with the education of Peruvians overall to avoid unnecessary backlash. In terms of audience, the working group made a conscientious decision to target more affluent, literate television viewers instead of a more general television audience. The television spots would not be targeted to parents who were dilatory in sending their daughters to school.

These decisions illustrate an important dichotomy in people's interpretation of the problems associated with girls' education in Peru. One perspective is that gender inequities in school enrollments are related to parents' lack of understanding about the benefits of schooling for girls. The solution is therefore to educate parents and communities about the importance of girls' education. This view underlies many of the activities undertaken by New Horizons and Florecer, including some local initiatives in the Ayacucho pilot project.

The television advertising campaign, however, is based on a different set of beliefs. It assumes that the problem of rural girls' under-representation in schools lies not with parents but more broadly with the physical school infrastructure and climate. It assumes that rural parents understand the importance of education for girls, but some choose not to send their daughters to school because problems related to quality and safety outweigh the educational benefits. From this perspective, the goal of a girls' education campaign should be to convince politicians to invest more money in education. When schools improve—by adding separate bathrooms for boys and girls, for example—and when better strategies are in place for ensuring that teachers will not molest girls, rural parents will begin to send their daughters in larger numbers.

The goal of the television campaign was therefore to create a broader, more informed constituency of affluent citizens who would increase the pressure on politicians to invest in girls' schooling. The working group envisioned that the campaign would have different kinds of consequences: the appearance of change in support of girls' education followed by actual change. First, a television campaign would create the impression of a groundswell of national interest in girls' education. After seeing the spots, Ministry officials and members of Congress would have the impression that the issue of girls' education was becoming an important national priority. Second, the campaign would truly make girls' education a priority. People would begin to discuss the issue in homes and public places and demand that the government take action on behalf of rural girls.

McCann Erickson created and financed the production of five television spots. To determine the usefulness of the public service announcements, the national network pretested the spots, using focus groups and a survey. The pretest concluded that three of the five spots would work well, one should be rejected outright, and one might need to be rejected because it was deemed politically controversial. In the end, the network used only the first three spots.

McCann Erickson then used its professional contacts to encourage television stations to air the spots for free or at discounted rates. The company also helped convert the television spots into radio spots, a project that was sponsored by a businesswoman in the radio industry who was a member of Florecer. The first of the three spots—"Do you know how to read?"—was distributed to radio stations in Lima and in the interior of Peru. Major radio stations broadcast it four to six times daily for three weeks. The second and third television spots were also converted to a radio format, distributed to 40 stations, and aired by 11 of them.

Radio Programs of Peru and other local broadcasting stations in the rural areas also provided free air time to run these radio and television spots. The first spot was broadcast 69 times in March 2000 under the National Network's new "brand" name, Florecer. With the support of the manager of Radio Programs of Peru in particular, one spot was sent to 11 radio stations. An Ayacucho-based NGO and member of the national network, the Center for Agricultural Development, translated the radio spot into Quechua, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Peru, and an agreement was signed to disseminate announcements in that language. Ultimately, the announcements were broadcast daily at 6:00 A.M. in rural communities—a time of day when community members often meet to discuss community affairs. As part of the campaign, network participants were interviewed for radio programs and newspaper articles.

In April 2000, the second television spot was recorded, and the national network made an agreement with two channels to broadcast it for free. In May, Austral Televisión and Andina de Radiofusión broadcast the spot. The first channel rebroadcast it 168 times in May, and the other ran the first and second spots 44 times. As of May 19, Cable Channel N also began broadcasting the spots 6 times a day. In June, Austral Televisión broadcast the third spot five times daily.

Between July and September 2000, the spots gained even more visibility:

- Austral Televisión aired the third television spot five times daily.
- The three spots were aired at the Film Festival for Children and Youth in Lima during the week of July 22–30.

- Radio Stereo Villa broadcast 560 spots from June 27 to July 30, and Radio Marañon in Jaen broadcast 145 from July 3 to July 31—both free of charge.
- Other radio stations that broadcast free spots were Radio Juliaca in Puno, Radio Oriente in Iquitos, Radio Madre de Dios, Radio Sicuani in Cusco, and Radio La Voz de la Selva.
- Major radio stations across the country also discounted the radio spots during the week of Teachers' Day, July 5–7.

One public television station made an hour-long program about girls' education in May 2001. It based the program on the participation of rural girls in the First National Meeting on Girls' Education. The initial airing of the program was such a success that the station broadcast it a second time.

Meanwhile, radio spots were produced in coordination with the National Radio Coordinator (CNR), a Catholic NGO that supports educational programming for rural radio stations. New Horizons paid for the production of the spots, and CNR distributed and aired the spots wherever possible in Quechua and Spanish. New Horizons sent the spots to radio stations in Ayacucho as well, but the spots were not aired as often as the project had hoped.

Interviews conducted with public and private sector leaders and project participants at the local and national levels indicate that the television and radio campaigns have had mixed success. On the one hand, interviews suggest that some people know about the campaign and think that the media spots are well produced. For example, informal conversations with Lima cab drivers showed that some were familiar with Florecer because they had seen the television spots. According to Congresswoman Gloria Helfer, the spots have also helped her secure support from her colleagues when she introduced the draft law on education for rural girls in Congress.

The limited exposure of the television and radio spots, combined with the political problems in Peru that dominated the news at the time that the spots aired, diminished the likelihood that people would remember the important issue of girls' education or change their behavior to improve educational access, persistence, and quality for rural girls.

However, project staff and the producers of the television spots say that the limited airing of the television and radio spots has made it difficult to create a lasting effect. According to the New Horizons coordinator, Ana María Robles, herself a mass communications specialist, people need to hear the same message at least eight or nine times for it to make a lasting impression. Anecdotal evidence about the radio campaign suggests that it primarily reached informed urban residents and not many other listeners. The limited exposure of the television and radio spots, combined with the political problems in Peru that dominated the news at the time that the spots aired, diminished the likelihood that people would remember the important issue of girls' educa-

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tion or change their behavior to improve educational access, persistence, and quality for rural girls. To be successful, she believes, a mass media campaign requires a more substantial investment than was possible for this project.

Advocacy

Identifying problems associated with girls' education and communicating information about those problems to key constituencies are the first two goals of the New Horizons project. Descriptions of the publications, conferences, and media campaign indicate how important Florecer has been as an organizing and implementing structure to help the project achieve these goals. This national network has been equally important in taking lessons learned as well as the growing support for girls' education throughout Peru and moving the campaign to the next stage: advocating on behalf of national-level solutions.

One recommendation that emerged from the Second National Conference (September 2000) was that Florecer draft a law to support girls' education in rural areas. Florecer conducted a consultation in October to draft the legislation, lobby members of Congress, and disseminate information about the proposed legislation to the media. Florecer's Technical Committee presented a preliminary version of the proposal to the coordinators of the Second Conference and to the departmental delegations that participated in the event.

The proposed legislation sought to promote and implement educational policies designed to ensure universal enrollment for girls under the age of 18 in quality basic education in conditions of equity within five years. It also resolved to declare 2000–2005 the Quinquennium of Girls' Education in Rural Areas and to prioritize resources to support associated initiatives. It proposed to implement the following measures:

- Develop a program of stimuli and incentives for school teachers in rural areas to encourage them to promote universal enrollment and access for girls to quality education
- Establish school and municipal monitoring committees to guard against sexual harassment and abuse against girls
- Prioritize education spending on rural schools and to increase current expenditures to raise the standard of education in those schools
- Establish a publishing fund for girls in rural areas, with a view to producing specialized literature on such issues as family, sexuality, and gender equity

The proposed legislation intended to achieve these goals through three managerial strategies:

1. By creating a National Council of Girls' Education in Rural Areas composed of senior officials and representatives of the State and civil society, which will promote the adoption of agreements and of medium- and long-term policies, as well as quality assessment criteria to evaluate girls' education in rural areas
2. By ensuring the availability of state, private, and international cooperation resources for girls' education in rural areas
3. By organizing, producing, and disseminating information in a timely, systematic, and public manner on enrollment, attendance, continuation, and learning achievements among girls in rural areas

In early December 2000, New Horizons and Florecer held a press conference on the proposed Law for the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas. Forty-five leading political figures attended the event, as well as parliamentary advisers, experts on the subject, journalists, and representatives of Florecer. Also in attendance were Congresswoman Gloria Helfer; Graciela Fernandez Baca, the adviser and representative of Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the President of the Ministerial Cabinet; Idel Vexler, the Vice Minister for Education Management of the Ministry of Education; and Doris Portocarrero, Head of the Department for the Advancement of Children and Adolescents of the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development. Project staff produced 500 copies of a letter-sized color page summarizing the proposed Law on the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas and distributed the copies during the public presentation to members of Congress and the media.

The event received extensive coverage by the local media—the press, radio, public television networks, and cable channels. The official gazette, *El Peruano*, published a special two-page report on the day of the public announcement of the draft legislation. Journalists from six major radio stations reported live from the Hotel Alcalá; three of them interviewed Congresswoman Gloria Helfer, the prime sponsor of the legislation. Journalists from Channels 5 and 9, national television networks, also reported on the proposed law. The cable network, Channel N, mentioned the draft law in news bulletins on December 15 and 16, and cable channel CCN interviewed Teresa Tovar, co-author of the *Open Agenda*, on December 18. The dailies *Expreso* and *El Comercio* published articles on Saturday, December 16. Further, *El Comercio*'s Sunday supplement, *El Dominical*, contained a lead article about the draft law on December 24.

On December 21, with the ratifying signatures of 13 members of Congress, representing all main political parties, the proposed law on the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas was introduced in Congress for debate as Bill 1124 under the coordination of Congresswoman Gloria Helfer. Unfortunately, the normal deliberation process and political changes in Peru—the flight of ex-President Fujimori to Japan and the installation of a transition government—made setting a vote on the law impossible before Congress adjourned in June 2001. It was also difficult to achieve the necessary review by the Congressional committees that deal with education and women's issues before Congress completed its business.

It was therefore important to educate new members of Congress about the importance of the legislation when the body reconvened in fall 2001. Congresswoman Helfer expected the process of ratifying the law would take six months after the new Congress convened. It would have to be re-introduced and passed in committee before the bill could be presented for a vote before the entire Congress.

To the surprise and delight of everyone involved in New Horizons and Florecer, however, the bill was passed unanimously by the full body of the Peruvian Congress on October 31, 2001, months earlier than expected. The bill had been re-introduced on August 23 under the sponsorship of 37 Members of Congress from multiple parties. It was referred to the Congressional Committee on Education, Science and Technology, which had heard testimony from members of Florecer and viewed videos from rural girls who described the importance of girls' education on October 2. The Committee then debated the merit of proposals that espoused "positive discrimination." Over the next three weeks, New Horizons staff and members of Florecer engaged in an extensive media and educational campaign to convince the committee members of the importance of the bill, efforts that paid off when the Education Committee approved the bill unanimously on October 23. More lobbying and media focus then ensued before the bill was ratified by the full body one week later. Girls' education advocates were ecstatic about the national support for the legislation, but cautioned that passing the law was just the first step in achieving equity in education for rural girls. Organizations such as New Horizons and networks such as Florecer must also establish rigorous monitoring processes to ensure that the new law is implemented fully.

Interaction with Local Networks

The last area of work for the national network is coordinating with regional networks for girls' education, all of which were created after the First National Conference. Some public and private sector leaders who participated in the event were so stimulated by the discussion about rural girls' education and so inspired by the model of the national network that they decided to create their own regional affiliates. These include networks in the Departments of Amazonas, Junín and Huancavelica, and San Martín. Some of the departmental networks include local affiliates of their own, groups of leaders, practitioners, and families that have created networks at the provincial and district levels.[36]

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[36] Communities constitute the smallest political unit in Peru. Groups of communities form districts, groups of districts form provinces, and groups of provinces form departments.

Departments that did not decide to create networks still have informal girls' education coordinators who serve as liaisons to New Horizons and Florecer.

New Horizons and Florecer never planned to create local girls' education networks and therefore had not developed a model for interaction among networks. Given limited resources, it was not possible to develop a hierarchical structure in which regional networks could rely on Florecer for guidance and resources. Instead, Florecer decided to link networks through bulletins titled "Girls' Voices," which enabled people to share information about ideas and activities in support of girls' education. The national network has also created its own working group to think more strategically about ways to work better with regional networks and local committees. Finally, the network provides support for members of regional networks to participate in national conferences, as it does for participants from other departments, and has recently hired consultants to help networks design systems to monitor assistance to and quality of girls' education.

Relations among the national network, regional networks, and local committees are fluid. The most intensive interactions take place at national conferences. Local network partners interviewed for this study all appreciated the opportunity to participate in these events, as did rural girls. It is clear that national conferences motivated and inspired people to return and continue to work on behalf of girls' education. These groups also make an extensive effort to share publications and other kinds of information so that the national network is aware of regional and local activities and insights, and vice versa. An example is the series of provincial meetings that the Ayacucho network held to solicit community recommendations about girls' education for the Second National Conference.

It is clear that national conferences motivated and inspired people to return and continue to work on behalf of girls' education. These groups also make an extensive effort to share publications and other kinds of information so that the national network is aware of regional and local activities and insights, and vice versa.

At least one regional network, in the Department of San Martín, has some concern about interaction between the national and regional networks. Despite the fact that the regional network appreciates the national-level support to attend meetings as well as the positive information about network activities in San Martín that the national network includes in its bulletins, members are somewhat apprehensive about instances in which the national network has tried to set priorities for regional and local activities without much input from the regional networks themselves. The result is that well-intentioned activities are not always consonant with local realities. According to members of the San Martín network, it is difficult for a national body in Lima to monitor girls' education activities around the country.

The San Martín network has worked with its members and local affiliates to design concrete action plans to support girls' education. Members are still very excited about the work and the opportunities to improve girls' education and are working directly with communities through their jobs and personal time. However, a sense of frustration is growing that many of the activities listed in action plans require at least a modicum of resources that are currently out of reach. Participants are somewhat puzzled why New Horizons and Florecer would take a special interest and make a special investment in Andean girls through the Ayacucho network and pilot project and not make a similar commitment to rural girls living in jungle communities.

WORKING AT THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

Although New Horizons and Florecer have undertaken an ambitious set of initiatives at the national level in Peru, the project's success will ultimately be measured by the project's ability to improve girls' access and persistence in school at the local level. Data on enrollment and completion rates, are needed to make these kinds of judgments, will be available in the GEA final report that is being produced by Juarez and Associates. Instead, this report describes activities that are taking place at the regional and local levels to raise awareness about and ameliorate the structural barriers to girls' education—activities that are as impressive as those taking place at the national level in helping achieve overall project goals. This section describes the activities of the New Horizons pilot project in Ayacucho as well as the regional girls' education networks in the Departments of Ayacucho and San Martín. Descriptions are based on interviews conducted in June and July 2001. Descriptions of the other three regional networks are absent not because of any deficiency in their activities but because of limitations in the authors' ability to collect data.

Ayacucho Pilot Project: "Warmi Warmakunapa Yachaynin"(The Knowledge of Girls)

From the very beginning of New Horizons , staff realized that to succeed in improving girls' schooling, the project would have to develop a multilevel strategy. This approach was consistent with the GEA framework, which required countries to strengthen organizations (EGAT/WID IR 2.1), mobilize leaders (EGAT/WID IR 2.3), and broaden community participation (EGAT/WID IR 2.4) in support of girls' education. The Department of Ayacucho was chosen almost immediately as the project's regional area of emphasis for a few reasons. First, Ayacucho has a large indigenous population of non-Spanish speakers, a relatively high level of poverty, and substantial disparities between the educational attainment of men and women. According to one recent report:

> *Fifty percent of women between 15 and 50 are illiterate (compared to 18 percent nationally). In Huanta, the district in which 11 of the project's pilot schools are located, 86 percent of the population of 63,547 lives in extreme poverty. Chronic malnutrition is a serious problem with children under five at more than double the national average of 13 percent. For more than ten years, the*

> *Shining Path was systematically destroying the lives and homes of people. While the environment has been relatively stable for the past eight years, the indigenous population has been left with emotional and physical scars.*[37]

The other important factor in deciding to focus on Ayacucho was that CARE-Peru already had a network of offices and project staff throughout the department that could support project activities. New Horizons therefore established a field project office and housed it within the Ayacucho office of CARE-Peru.

Studies

Following is a summary of studies conducted under the auspices of Florecer and the New Horizons Project.

Situational Analysis

New Horizons began planning for a situational analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho in May 1998, a month after the project began in Lima. The study itself was conducted between October 1998 and January 1999. The results would be used as the basis for a pilot project to improve girls' schooling. The analysis team was led by an anthropologist from the United States and included a regional Ministry of Education official as well as graduate students in anthropology and social work.[38] The group examined the barriers that limit the schooling of girls in rural areas, identified the underlying causes of these barriers, and suggested possible interventions to address these causes.

The study concluded that the problem of girls' education in Ayacucho is related more to retention than to enrollment. Girls enter school later than their male counterparts, and because their responsibilities at home increase with age, fulfilling these responsibilities is at odds with completing primary school. Girls face a particular problem when they start menstruating. They often do not understand their bodies, come to school unprepared, and are teased to the point that they become uncomfortable, thereby increasing the likelihood of dropping out of school. In addition, people believe that it costs more to educate girls than boys: Girls are unable to complete their domestic duties because of their school schedules, and, according to parents, expenses incurred in educating a girl cannot be recuperated. That investment does not produce the same rate of return as does an investment in a boy's education.

Problems in school and the poor quality of education in Ayacucho further temper parents' interest in their daughters' education. Problems include

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[37] Donahue, M. (2001, July). *Trip report to Peru.* Washington, DC: DevTech.

[38] Theidon, K. et al. (1999, March). *Situational analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho.* Lima, Peru: CARE-Peru.

- institutionalized sexism that distorts teacher-student and student-student relationships;
- the use of corporal punishment that contributes to an "education of silence" among girls; and
- teachers who are not trained in either bilingual and intercultural education or gender issues.

The situational analysis also explored available resources that could be tapped to improve girls' education, including the following:

- Teachers who are interested in receiving professional development
- Parents who are willing to donate their time for school projects and to attend meetings
- Other potential change agents (e.g., religious leaders, NGOs and state entities, representatives of mass communication, personnel in health posts, and small merchants) who have expressed a willingness to help improve girls' education
- Girls and young women who have continued their education and are willing to work with younger girls

Approximately 200 people attended the public presentation of findings from the situational analysis on March 3, 1999, including teachers from rural schools, faculty from universities and the pedagogical institute, professionals from NGOs, and members of village mothers' clubs.

Rapid Rural Appraisal

In addition to the situational analysis, the project sponsored a rapid rural appraisal (RRA) to involve communities in an analysis of barriers to girls' education, solutions to barriers, and community roles in planning and implementing actions.[39] The RRA team visited two communities for three days each. Their findings were largely consistent with those in the situational analysis:

- Third-grade girls whose first language was Quechua had difficulty learning in Spanish.
- Grade repetition rates among girls were high.
- Girls' numeracy skills were somewhat better than their literacy skills.
- Excessive teasing and harassment by boys were among the girls' primary concerns.
- Classroom instruction was rote and tended to favor boys.

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[39] Miske, S. J. (1998, November). *Rapid rural appraisal in Peru's GWE situational analysis.* Arlington, VA: Institute for International Research.

Baseline Study of Girls' Education in Pilot Communities

During the spring and summer of 1999, project staff used the results of these studies and worked with a small number of rural communities to begin designing the Ayacucho pilot project, which they named Warmi Warmakunapa Yachaynin (the Knowledge of the Girls). Staff and community members began working on activities such as diversifying the school curriculum.

The project then sponsored a baseline study of girls' education in pilot communities, which was conducted in fall 1999.[40] The results of the study would be used to plan long-term interventions for communities in the districts of Huanta and Tambo. The study included 267 girls who were attending school, 37 girls who were not attending school, 16 teachers, and 280 parents to learn about such issues as school infrastructure, school calendars, teaching and learning, discipline, grade repetition, performance, attrition, absence, enrollments, and skills. According to the analysis, the greatest barriers to girls' education include the high incidence of grade repetition, low self-esteem, and discrimination and poor treatment in the classroom.

Pilot Project

Project staff decided that the demonstration activities in Huanta would emphasize the development of oral and written communication skills in Quechua, the students' mother tongue, as well as in Spanish. In Tambo, the aim would be to help girls improve their self-esteem. On the basis of recommendations from a formative, internal evaluation of the pilot project, conducted in December 2000, the bilingual and intercultural activity (EBI) and the self-esteem activity have now been introduced in all pilot communities. These communities have also developed other educational initiatives: adult literacy programs; parent schools, to teach parents about the importance of girls' education and what they can do at home to improve their girls' education; community education promoters; and girls' education committees to monitor student and teacher attendance.

Bilingual and Intercultural Education (EBI) Demonstration Activity

In spring 2000, a bilingual education expert worked with 11 pilot communities in Huanta to identify the Spanish and Quechua language skills of boys and girls in school. The core activities were professional development workshops for teachers and ongoing technical assistance from project staff. In April, the project sponsored a six-day training course for 15 first- and second-grade teachers from Huanta on the bilingual and intercultural activity (EBI) with a gender focus. All but three teachers could speak Quechua relatively well, but all had difficulties writing in Quechua. In the course, teachers learned how to teach using Quechua as a first language and how to slowly introduce Spanish into the curriculum. In kindergarten, children would receive three hours of instruction in Quechua and one in Spanish. In first and second grades, children would receive three hours in Quechua and two in Spanish.

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[40] Ramos, R., & Cabrera, Z. (2000, January). *Baseline study of the New Horizons Project for Girls' Education.* Lima: CARE-Peru.

Teachers also learned that EBI is not meant as a strategy for replacing Spanish words with Quechua words. It is important to teach students to value indigenous culture as well as other cultures. Intercultural competence can best be achieved by helping children evoke their own knowledge when solving new problems and by involving the community as an educational resource (e.g., asking parents to tell legends in class). Activities include working with children to write interactive texts using stories about the communities themselves, as well as teaching about traditional music, dress, and festivals.

The December 2000 evaluation of the EBI activity demonstrated that parents and students have a strong interest in bilingual and intercultural learning. Children are improving their communication skills in their mother tongue and, to a more gradual extent, in Spanish. Teachers have also improved both their oral and written communication skills in Quechua. Although girls are not the only beneficiaries of the EBI activity, preliminary evaluation results and interviews with parents and community leaders indicate that EBI is having an impact on girls' education: a 10 percent increase in girls' attendance in school. Although progress is being made, teachers know that they have a lot more to learn to ensure the level of quality bilingual and intercultural education that the project is seeking.

There are at least two explanations for the increase in girls' enrollments. First, improving EBI has a profound effect on how parents view the relevance of school for girls. Parents are proud of the fact that their children are becoming literate in Quechua and Spanish and are convinced that their young children are developing better communication skills than would have otherwise been possible.

Second, improving EBI has had an effect on how girls perceive their own education. Given the division of labor in rural communities, boys tend to have more exposure to Spanish than girls do. Boys tend to travel to towns with their fathers to sell their produce, which requires a knowledge of Spanish, whereas girls stay at home and communicate with their mothers, friends, and siblings in their native languages. When classes are taught only in Spanish or the quality of the bilingual curriculum is poor, girls tend to feel more insecure and bored than boys. A high-quality bilingual and intercultural approach to early primary education, therefore, changes this dynamic and motivates girls to continue their schooling.

In terms of next steps, the evaluation concluded that teachers would need more training to develop methods and systematize their efforts to include in their curriculum texts that are designed by pupils and parents. On the basis of these recommendations, the pilot project hired an EBI specialist to begin working more closely with pilot communities. Unfortunately, this technical assistance was not sufficient to assist teachers with more fundamental issues, such as increasing basic competencies and planning better lessons. Project staff therefore decided to make the technical assistance process more efficient. They designated one of the 11 schools as a "model" school, five as "priority" schools, and five as regular schools.

The EBI specialist is now based at the model school. She lives in the community, works with the regular teachers in the school, and provides Quechua courses to teachers. She is also responsible for developing a model of EBI instruction and for sharing this model with two other project staff members who accompany her to the other schools. These staff members share the lessons learned in the model school with other teachers in the priority and regular schools through four-hour "learning exchange" meetings that take place once a month in each of three school networks, one in Huanta and two in Tambo. The agendas for these meetings are established by participants and often include demonstrations. Project staff then provide feedback from the learning exchanges to the EBI specialist at the model school. These two staff members also visit priority schools weekly and regular schools monthly.

According to staff, the EBI demonstration activity is different from the Ministry of Education's general approach to bilingual education in a variety of ways. It includes more extensive professional development and classroom follow-up; it includes more participation by community leaders; the method focuses on reading prose from the very beginning instead of starting with syllables and words; and the transition from Quechua to Spanish is more gradual. In the general bilingual curriculum, students first learn subject content in Quechua, and then they learn the same material again, but in Spanish. In the demonstration activity, no such "translation" takes place. Different themes are addressed in the different languages according to student and community needs. The goal is to make the curriculum more relevant and language more fluid.

Self-Esteem Demonstration Activity

The many Ayacucho analyses consistently identified low self-esteem as an important factor leading to high dropout and low retention rates among rural girls. Girls feel timid, insecure, and less important than boys. This trend has several explanations.

A first factor is the violence and fear that the terrorist group, the Shining Path, wrought on communities during the 1980s and early 1990s. These experiences had a tremendous impact on community life. It made people fear the unknown and mistrust others. It also stifled people's desire to express themselves in public forums. Parents have passed these values to their children, a trend that some people believe has affected girls more adversely than boys.

In addition, gender discrimination has an adverse impact on girls' self-esteem. Rural girls often enter school at an older age and are often teased by the younger boys in their class. That insecurity can increase if girls are more limited than boys in their bilingual abilities and the class is being conducted in Spanish. This discrimination is rooted in a more general "machismo" that often belittles the importance of girls and women in homes, schools, and communities. In many schools, girls are used to hearing from teachers that they cannot learn as easily as boys can—as if learning were inherently a gender-biased activity.

These are some of the reasons that the regional girls' education project office launched the self-esteem activity in Tambo, a district where girls' self-esteem was particularly low. In step with the timing of the EBI activity, a psychologist with experience in gender issues worked with nine pilot communities in spring 2000 to plan specific interventions. Like EBI, the self-esteem activity has professional development workshops for teachers and ongoing technical assistance from project staff as its core activities. Between April and November 2000, 34 primary school teachers participated in three 3-day workshops and received on-site technical assistance about building self-esteem. The workshops were based on a manual that included various self-esteem modules for children of different ages: 5–8, 9–11, and 12 years and older. Follow-up included weekly visits to pilot communities by project staff, as well as regular interaction with regional New Horizons staff in the regional Ayacucho project office.

Early accomplishments include changes in boys' and girls' attitudes about themselves, from timid and submissive to expressive and dynamic. Workshops have also increased the community's awareness about equal gender rights as well as teachers' awareness about the importance of girls' education and their ability to deal with gender diversity.

After returning to their communities, teachers volunteered to teach the self-esteem modules to boys and girls after school. Workshops were divided by age and not by grade because girls tend to start school later and may be older than the boys in their class. Boys were encouraged to participate in the workshops as well, because they play an important role in helping improve girls' self-esteem. Teachers led a workshop each week for children in one age group so that everyone could participate once a month.

Results from the December 2000 evaluation indicate that the self-esteem activity has also demonstrated progress. Early accomplishments include changes in boys' and girls' attitudes about themselves from timid and submissive to expressive and dynamic. Workshops have also increased the community's awareness about equal gender rights as well as teachers' awareness about the importance of girls' education and their ability to deal with gender diversity.

Teachers contend that participation in the self-esteem activity has also helped them change their instructional practices as well as relations within their own families. The process has been slow, however, because it has been difficult to change such habits as corporal punishment. Teachers also say that the self-esteem workshops have made it easier for girls to express themselves in class and to communicate directly with the teacher. This increased level of communication has in turn motivated teachers to pay more attention to girls in class and to work with girls on personal and social issues, such as the human body, about which they were previously uncomfortable. Teachers, however, were

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wary of the additional time commitment to the self-esteem activity. They are not compensated for participating in professional development workshops or after-school instruction.

Another issue is the way the two-hour monthly workshops interfere with the household chores that children normally carry out after school. Convincing parents about the value of the self-esteem workshops has been difficult because the concepts are so foreign to them. Parents like the fact that children now quarrel less and play better together and that they enjoy better relationships with their children, but project staff must work hard to continue the momentum of activities. In recent interviews, parents and community leaders still think of self-esteem as being related to "non-violence" and "respect for others." There appears to be no clear Quechua translation of self-worth or the value of the individual, though value to the family and community is a clear concept. Nevertheless, the evidence discussed above indicates that community awareness about equal gender rights has increased.

Other Community Efforts to Support Girls' Education

The intensive work between pilot communities and project staff has led to additional collaborative efforts that directly or indirectly support girls' education: local girls' education committees (CALENs), adult literacy workshops, community education promoters, and parent schools. Although CALENs were created early in the history of the pilot project, in October 1999, the other three activities were started more recently—January 2001 for the adult literacy workshops, June 2001 for the promoters, and August 2001 for the parent schools.

Girls' Education Committees (CALENs)

Early in the development of the pilot project, New Horizons and the girls' education network of Ayacucho conceived the idea of forming girls' education committees as a community-based mechanism for monitoring girls' school attendance, monitoring teacher attendance, and educating parents and communities about the importance of girls' education. These committees are elected by their communities and are responsible for going to the community's primary school each day to record student and teacher attendance.

The girls' education project has provided technical assistance workshops to train committees in their responsibilities. If a student is absent for more than a few days, the committee members visit the family to ask why. If the reason for a student's absence is the parents' reluctance to send the child to school, the committee members try to convince the parents about the value of schooling.

The committee plays a similar role in monitoring teacher absences. If members notice a pattern of teacher absences, they are obliged to inform provincial officials, who then are responsible for taking punitive action. In some communities, committees also report on school attendance at regular community meetings, many of which take place daily before people venture out to the fields. Community leaders contend that this system of public reporting and accountability has had a substantial effect on girls' enrollment rates. Some communities even say that all of their school-age children now attend primary school.

This accountability system has also had a remarkable effect on community-level empowerment. Previously, teachers were held in the highest esteem. As people with relatively high education from the larger towns, they are often considered mothers or fathers of the community. Communities would never think to question a teacher's decisions or expert opinions. The CALEN system, however, gives communities an easy oversight mechanism to ensure that teachers are arriving for work. Last year, provincial officials in Huanta removed from a pilot community school one teacher who did not attend regularly.

There is one caution, however, about the need to keep a balance in such a monitoring system. Anecdotally, one story is told about a community that had perhaps gone too far in its oversight responsibilities by intimidating the community's teacher if he gave students bad grades. This is obviously not the intent of the CALEN activity.

Adult Literacy

One finding from the December 2000 evaluation was that communities were eager to begin the adult literacy workshops that were discussed in the initial community conversations about the pilot project. From the perspective of parents and community members, literacy workshops were a way to learn how to read, write, and perform mathematics calculations. They perceived these skills as being very important to their abilities to vote in elections, which now requires a signature; defend themselves or others in court; sign contracts; and read signs when they travel.

From the perspective of the girls' education project staff, these workshops are an important strategy for sensitizing parents about the importance of girls' education. First, workshops may counteract the negative sentiments of parents who have spent their entire lives working in the fields and who sometimes do not understand why it is important for children, particularly girls, to attend school. As the parents themselves attend school, they begin to understand why sending children to school is such an important investment.

Second, exposure to school reduces parents' fears and discomfort about education. Interviews indicate that parents who did not attend school themselves often feel uncomfortable when their children begin to learn more than the parents know; parents also feel frustrated and insecure when they are not able to help their children with homework assignments. The opportunity to attend school can ameliorate some of those concerns and make education a shared experience—which can even lead to improving parents' own self-esteem.

Third, evidence suggests that women tend to enroll in adult literacy courses more often than men. Interviews with a small number of community leaders indicate that this is also the pattern in the Ayacucho adult literacy activity. In one community, 17 of the 25 students were women; in another, 28 of the 35 students were women. Thus, adult literacy courses have the added benefit of increasing overall female literacy in communities—another counterargument to the earlier described belief that women are not capable of studying.

The adult literacy model used in pilot communities is based on a successful model used in Honduras. Project staff train instructors in the curriculum and supply basic materials, such as chalkboards, and the instructors meet with groups of adult students one or two times a week. Although it is too early to quantify the results of this activity, communities seem to be very pleased to have the opportunity to hold literacy workshops.

Community Education Promoters

The last two community demonstration activities are even more difficult to evaluate because they are so new. The first is the creation of "community education promoters," an activity that began in June 2001. The idea was inspired by the system of community health promoters in rural communities, which has existed for some time. Education promoters, who are elected by their communities, are responsible for advising people about local educational issues. They also serve as ombudspeople to mediate if a problem arises between families and schools or between schools and provincial education officials. Although community education promoters have no formal jurisdiction over girls' education, they can serve as advisors to CALENs or to adult literacy instructors. In reality, community education promoters are often the same people who run the CALENs in a community.

Parent Schools

The last piece of the pilot-project puzzle is the "parent school," a forum for parents to learn strategies for improving educational opportunities for their children. Save the Children/Canada, an active organizational member of the Ayacucho Girls' Education Network, is facilitating the activity, which began in August 2001. Parent schools have existed in urban areas for years, but Save the Children and the Ayacucho Girls' Education Network are working hard to modify the model to ensure that it is culturally relevant for parents in Andean communities.

Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho

The Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho (hereafter referred to as the Ayacucho network) began in September 1999, at about the same time as the other regional girls' education networks in Peru. The goal of the network is similar to that of its counterparts: to mobilize communities to improve girls' access to and persistence in primary school. This network is different, however, in that its administration is financed by the New Horizons project. And like the national network, the Ayacucho network had the advantage of access to the offices, resources, and technical expertise of CARE-Peru to facilitate its work.

The original Ayacucho network comprised 25 NGOs and public sector organizations: Puericultorio Andrés Vivanco Amorin; Manuela Ramos Movement; Federation of Mothers' Clubs of the Department of Ayacucho; School for the Professional Development of Social Services of the UNSCH; Civic Associations of WAWACUNAMANTAQ, CEPRODEP, CHIRAPAQ, TAREA, and IPAZ; Institute for the Study of Andean Development; Group of Work PASMI; Save the Children/Canada; UNICEF; Regional Board of Work for Displaced People in Ayacucho; Teaching Institute of Our Lady of Lourdes; Regional Office of Health in Ayacucho; People's Defense, Ayacucho; Provincial Government of Huamanga; Association of Peruvian Reconciliation; National Institute of Statistics and Information, Ayacucho; Radio Huanta 2000; Transitional Committee of Regional Administration of Ayacucho; Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, Ayacucho; Coordinator of Work for the Women of Ayacucho; CARE-Peru; and the Regional Office of Education of Ayacucho.

Over time, the network has grown to be 35 organizations strong. Newer members are the Center for Agricultural Development; Regional Academy of the Quechua Language; Planning Committee for Action for Infants and Adolescents; CEP María Auxiliadora; Committee for Development and Communities; Network of Adolescent Leaders; Coordinator of Work for the Rights of Children in Ayacucho; Dominican Mother Missionaries of Rosario; TADEPA; and ODEC. Some of these organizations mirror counterparts that participate in Florecer, the national network, but most do not.

Many of these organizations began working together prior to the creation of the Ayacucho network. Beginning in the mid-1990s, various NGOs in Ayacucho had organized a consortium to develop a strategic plan for children and adolescents in the Department, but no action was taken on the group's recommendations. In 1999, CARE-Peru introduced NGOs and public sector organizations to the New Horizons project. At subsequent meetings, discussions became more concrete, and the members of the former children and adolescent consortium agreed to join with CARE to focus their group's agenda on rural girls' education.

In September 1999, the Network for the Education of Rural Girls in Ayacucho formed with the support of New Horizons. The group began to meet monthly and, with the assistance of a chairperson (represented by Save the Children/Canada) and a steering committee, developed an annual operating plan. The steering committee also cataloged all the work that individual members were contributing to rural girls' education in the department to find opportunities for collaboration and mutual support. Like Florecer, the Ayacucho network has maintained a strong, active group of participants who are committed to girls' education and the process of inter-organizational collaboration. Approximately 18 to 20 organizations regularly attend monthly network meetings.

Selected interviews with network participants provided some clues to the network's success. First, organizations are motivated by the theme of girls' education. No one disputes the widespread problems in the Department that are associated with girls' access to quality education, and organizations have made commitments to improve the situation. Second, the network has been run efficiently. Monthly meetings are short and to the point, and members can see the consequences of their work in concrete actions taken on behalf of girls' education. Third, CARE-Peru brings substantial organizational credibility to the initiative. It has been working in Peru and Ayacucho for many years and has a solid reputation for good work and long-term commitments.

To date, the network has coordinated a variety of department-level activities. Examples include the following:

- Undertaking a publicity campaign to inform rural parents about the importance of timely enrollment as well as a general sensitizing campaign about the importance of rural girls' education
- Developing a comprehensive model for improving rural girls' education that includes working with parents, teachers, and bilingual and intercultural educators
- Encouraging the activities of community-level networks for girls' education
- Organizing provincial meetings to learn about the problems associated with rural girls' education—information that was used to inform the discussion at the Second National Conference and the subsequent draft Law for the Promotion of Rural Girls' Education
- Developing a five-year strategic plan for girls' education in the Department in collaboration with regional Ministry of Education officials

One of the most complex network activities was orchestrating provincial and departmental dialogues on rural girls' education. In spring 2000, the network convened five provincial meetings to discuss problems associated with girls' education and recommend solutions to ameliorate the greatest barriers. The dialogues were organized around the five national objectives for girls' education that were outlined in the *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls:*

- Ensuring that boys and girls have access to school
- Ensuring that girls have the time and proper conditions to study
- Focusing attention on the problems associated with puberty and girls' education
- Creating effective learning opportunities
- Making schools more friendly for girls

The network mobilized more than 500 leaders from parents' associations and mothers' clubs, public sector officials, NGO professionals, school teachers, and boys and girls from rural communities to share their ideas about ways to improve girls' education. The activity culminated in a large departmental meeting, the First Dialogue on Rural Girls' Education in Ayacucho, which was held on July 12 and 13, 2000.

In August and September 2000, project staff and network participants summarized the ideas and recommendations that emerged from the provincial and departmental meetings in a document titled *First Discussion and Exchange of Experiences on Girls' Education in Rural Areas of Ayacucho.* They distributed the information to the overall network as well as to teachers, girls and boys, and parents in rural communities that host girls' education pilot projects. In September, the network also sent the document with delegates to the Second National Conference on Girls' Education, where it was distributed and used in discussions about national proposals for rural girls' education. Many of the recommendations were then incorporated into the draft law for the Promotion of Girls' Education in Rural Areas.

Another substantial network undertaking was its work with regional Ministry of Education officials to develop a five-year strategic plan for girls' education in Ayacucho. In collaboration with New Horizons staff, the network convened a series of planning meetings in the winter of 2000–2001 (summer in Peru). Seventeen partners attended the first meeting in November, at which the network discussed the action steps that had developed two months earlier at the Second National Conference on Girls' Education in Rural Areas. Each participant was given specific responsibilities for developing individual parts of the plan. Later, the group invited three new organizations to join the committee that was supervising the design of the strategic plan and to raise funds for financing this activity. The group also proposed that strategic workshops for designing the plan continue during the last week in January and the first week in February 2001. The final plan includes the implementation of the Equity in the Classroom (EIC) project and a pilot project on Education and Work, Girls' Education, Democracy, and Citizenship and Competitiveness in 10 peri-urban primary and secondary schools as well as in 10 rural schools in the provinces of Huanta and Huamanga.

Finally, it is important to describe the role that the Ayacucho network has played in supporting community-level networks to improve girls' education. Many of the organizations that participate in the Ayacucho network have developed relationships with local communities that are based on their own work that is not affiliated with network efforts. These independent relationships continue and in many cases are strengthened by the coordinated services and activities provided through the network. The network has also served as a liaison as its members seek to develop new relationships with local communities and vice versa.

The following are some of the ways that community-level networks have supported girls' education:

- The support committee for girls' education in the community of Qarhuapampa promoted a registration campaign that encouraged dropouts to return to school. Registration at the multi-community educational center rose from 309 to 350 students in 2000.
- Educational networks in the communities of Carhuahurán and Cercán built schools to improve educational access for both girls and boys.
- Girls' education support committees throughout the district of Tambo coordinated an advertising campaign for the self-esteem workshops.

San Martín Network

The Network for the Education of Rural Girls of San Martín (hereafter referred to as the San Martín network) is one of the three regional girls' education networks in Peru that were created after the First National Conference in June 1999. It is self-initiated and, except for some funding provided by New Horizons to send network participants to national conferences, self-funded. Like its counterparts in the Departments of Amazonas, Ayacucho, Junín, and Huancavelica, the San Martín network envisions itself as a regional body to coordinate activities and support local communities in their efforts to improve girls' education.

The San Martín network consists of representatives from the public health and education sectors, municipal governments, NGOs, community women's clubs, and teachers. The network is administered by the Association of Municipal Governments of the Department of San Martín (AMRESAM) and is chaired by AMRESAM's executive secretary. Much of the work of the network is undertaken by a steering committee. The network meets monthly in AMRESAM's office, bringing together representatives from villages as far as two hours away by car. CARE-Peru has paid for the costs to send local delegates to national conferences, but AMRESAM pays for the local transport to monthly network meetings.

Among the network's initial activities was performing an analysis of the education situation of rural girls in selected communities with the support of local governments and municipal personnel. It conducted a study similar to the baseline analysis of girls' education in Ayacucho, surveying parents, teachers, and girls to determine the educational condition of girls in the communities of La Unión and Bello Horizonte in the district of Banda de Shilcayo. Fifteen municipal civil servants received special training to administer the survey; their primary finding was that girls were often absent from school because they were taking care of their younger siblings.

The San Martín network also undertook a project to ensure that new or remodeled schools included separate and well-maintained bathrooms for boys and girls. In addition, the network has sponsored sensitizing campaigns to educate communities about the importance of girls' education. Dissemination of information has been relatively easy and effective given AMRESAM's strong relationships with municipal governments throughout the department; many communities have agreed to include rural girls' education as priorities in their annual plans. In June 2001, the network also worked with the New Horizons project to organize a workshop on how to monitor girls' school attendance.

The San Martín network has worked closely with province-, district-, and community-level networks to develop local action plans to support girls' education. Local networks have been established in the province of Picota, the district of La Banda de Shilcayo (province of San Martín), the community of Buenos Aires (province of Picota), the community of San Antonio (province of San Martín), and the communities of Bello Horizonte and La Unión (district of La Banda de Shilcayo, province of San Martín). Each local committee has a teacher coordinator who works with parents to design local action plans. The local action plans together then form the departmental plan.

The network is also planning a series of events over the next few months in support of girls' education and education generally. Examples include the following:

- Workshops to help teachers use class time more effectively
- Community-level "Cultural Saturdays," in which children will have opportunities to learn about and celebrate rural culture
- Technical assistance to help girls become more active and expressive in the classroom

Network participants are very proud of their accomplishments over the past two years. Everyone interviewed was clearly interested in improving girls' education as well as educational opportunities for all rural children. As in the Ayacucho network, the great strengths of the San Martín network are its participants and the organizations they represent. Together, people from the public sector and NGO communities have been able to pool and focus their collective resources on troubling educational inequities. Representatives, however, are quick to note how much more they could accomplish if additional resources were made available to support their local and departmental action plans.

ANALYSIS OF SYSTEMIC CHANGES IN GIRLS' EDUCATION IN PERU

The purpose of the Girls and Women's Education Activity is to support countries in their efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level. This often requires changes in policies at the national, regional, and local levels as well as in the infrastructure to implement those policies and change practices. In the case of the New Horizons project, the specific goals of the policy change process are *to improve girls' access to and completion of primary school as well as the school environment for girls, particularly for indigenous girls and girls in rural areas.* This section of the report uses MSI's CFAC to analyze GEA's accomplishments in stimulating organizational and socio-political change in Peru. These have been organized according to the six tasks in CFAC described in Section II.

The Legitimization of Policies and Practices in Support of Girls' Education (Task 1)

The first task in the CFAC, legitimization, is the process by which people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of a policy idea declare publicly that the policy objective is important to pursue. It is the first step in the systemic change process and an absolute prerequisite for building larger constituencies and accumulating resources in support of change. There are two criteria for measuring legitimization. The first is the mobilization of key stakeholders who are willing to champion the project and grant the policy idea a basic level of credibility in the political arena. The second is the absence, or at least the near absence, of key stakeholders who actively oppose the policy idea.

In the case of New Horizons, two objectives needed to be legitimized for the project to be successful. First, the project needed to legitimize the overall policy change goals. Second, New Horizons needed to legitimize itself as a facilitator in the policy change process. This is not to suggest that New Horizons sought to be the central agent of change for girls' education in Peru. The basic assumption of the GEA project is that country offices play more of a catalyzing than controlling role in the change process.

To succeed in improving girls' education in Peru, New Horizons needed to legitimize its two objectives to educational stakeholders at the national, regional, and local levels. It would not be enough to change national-level policies if there was no interest in improving girls' education at the departmental or community level. According to recent interviews, it is much easier to pass a new law than to implement an existing law in Peru. Given the limitations of the national government to fund and monitor social programs, the successful *implementation* of national policies is based on the interest of regional officials and local communities.

The reverse is also true. New Horizons would not be successful in improving girls' education in Peru if it had focused its activities on local communities to the exclusion of national constituencies. Peru has thousands of small towns and villages. Working with a small number of communities might improve educational opportunities for a few hundred girls, but improvements could not be sustainable or replicable without the active support of regional- or national-level stakeholders.

The key stakeholders on the issue of girls' education vary at different levels in Peru:

- National level
    - National government
        - Ministry of Education
        - Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development
        - Members of Congress
    - Bilateral and multilateral agencies
        - USAID
        - UNICEF
    - Educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community
- Regional level
    - Departmental and provincial governments
        - Ministry of Education
        - Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development
        - Political leaders (e.g., mayors)
    - Educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community
- Local level: Community government representatives

Without at least tacit acceptance of the girls' education policy objectives and the emergence of at least some policy champions from these groups, mounting a successful girls' education campaign in Peru would have been difficult.

Recent interviews suggest that New Horizons has been successful in legitimizing its policy objectives among these educational stakeholders in Peru. From almost the beginning of the project, staff were able to acquire the support of national-level stakeholders. The endorsement of regional and local leaders followed as the project began to work directly in the Department of Ayacucho and indirectly with regional networks and girls' education coordinators across the country. Representatives from

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all these organizations not only have given their implicit approval in support of girls' education policies and the New Horizons project, but also have actively participated in other dimensions of the change process.

Girls' education and the New Horizons project have acquired such active support among key educational stakeholders in Peru for a number of reasons. First is the idea of girls' education itself. The topic resonates with people, it is easy to understand, and it is difficult to oppose. The limited criticism about girls' education is that a special focus on girls could be divisive and detract from the importance of boys' education. The project and girls' education networks have learned from this criticism and always talk about girls' education in the context of education for all and never as a replacement for boys' education. They argue that an emphasis on girls' education is consistent with the Education for All agenda. For example, the purpose of Education for All is to target the most vulnerable populations, and girls certainly meet that criterion in many countries, including Peru. In addition, as the New Horizons project has demonstrated, activities that focus on girls' education generally improve education for boys as well.

Second, rural girls' education is a subject that had never been fully explored in the educational or women's movements in Peru. New Horizons, Florecer, and local girls' education networks therefore had no competition in their work. The Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, NGOs that study women's issues, and the National Network for the Promotion of Women were pleased to work with a project that had such a direct focus. In addition, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and the USAID conference on girls' education in Washington, D.C., in 1998 focused the attention of public and private sector leaders in Peru on the issue of girls' education, and their collaborative work at the USAID conference generated enough momentum to sustain the start-up phase of the national network.

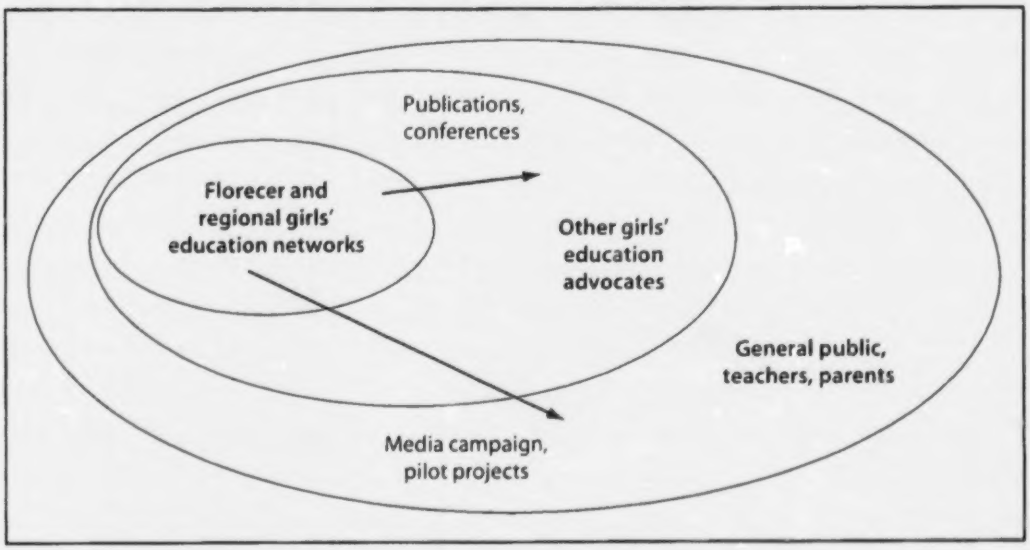
Third is the credibility of CARE, the contractor that supports the New Horizons project in Peru. CARE has been working in Peru for 30 years and has established an excellent reputation for its work in development. The combination of funds from USAID and administrative support from CARE gave the New Horizons project an automatic credibility. In addition to contributing its reputation, CARE was able to facilitate the legitimization of New Horizons and girls' education at their early stages of development with the support of its local offices and staff. Regional project staff in Ayacucho, for example, were immediately able to establish contact with departmental and provincial Ministry of Education staff to collaborate on the situational analysis and strategic education plans. In addition, local CARE staff in the districts of Huanta and Tambo were able to make initial contact with community representatives to establish support for the pilot project in those villages. It was relatively easy to convince a person to take the time to learn more about an issue such as girls' education when the project liaison was someone who was already familiar to the community. Reputation and personal connections are particularly important when trying to legitimize a project at the national, regional, and local levels in a short period of time.

Building a Lasting Girls' Education Constituency (Task 2)

Legitimization does not occur at a single point in time. It is relatively easy for individuals and organizations to express solidarity for a cause but more difficult for them to become active advocates who are willing to invest personal and organizational resources in support of a project or a policy. New Horizons and the girls' education networks developed a variety of strategies to build active constituencies in favor of girls' education in Peru.

The first step was to create networks and to secure the support of organizations and people involved in those networks. This goal was accomplished through regular, ongoing, monthly meetings in which participants had, and continue to have, an opportunity to interact, share ideas, and assume responsibility for specific actions. The second step was to broaden the constituency base by disseminating publications and organizing national and regional meetings on girls' education. The final step was to extend the message about the importance of girls' education to more general and disparate constituencies through a media campaign and the Ayacucho pilot project (see Figure 5).

Figure 5.–Path of Constituency-Building for Girls' Education in Peru


Publications, conferences
Florecer and regional girls' education networks
Other girls' education advocates
General public, teachers, parents
Media campaign, pilot projects

Girls' Education Networks

The creation of issue-based networks has become an international phenomenon in recent years and is quite popular in Peru. Networks facilitate the flow of information about an issue among stakeholders and create louder voices when advocating on behalf of that issue than individual organizations can—particularly when confronted with repressive governments. They can be a good mechanism for pooling resources and presenting a unified message when soliciting funds from the government or national or international donors. It is difficult, however, to sustain the momentum of network activities over time, and most networks in Peru have short lives. The fact that Florecer and regional girls' education networks have built loyal, active constituencies on behalf of girls' education that plan to continue their collaboration after the end of the New Horizons project is a noteworthy accomplishment.

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According to New Horizons staff and network participants, the process of developing consensus agendas through monthly meetings has been an energizing and validating process. It has been an important way for network members to take ownership for moving the agenda of girls' education forward in Peru. The challenge for all the networks has been how to be responsive to different organizational interests and sector-specific approaches to collaboration.

The public sector, for example, is one of the most important partners in national networks, regional networks, and local committees. In many instances, government laws, policies, and practices are the focus of the systemic change process. However, the public sector often speaks with multiple voices. At the national level, for example, a variety of public sector representatives participate in network activities, including representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Development, the Ministry of the Presidency, the Ministry of Health, and the Office of the First Lady. The network even includes multiple representatives from the Ministry of Education. Given that each agency and sub-agency office has its own priorities for improving girls' education, acquiring a single government position on the issue can often be a challenge.

Public sector partners can also be slow to react to network recommendations or to support network actions. Even though many of the public sector participants in the national and regional networks are high-ranking officials, they still have limited power to speak on behalf of their agencies. They must often take proposals back to their offices for review, a process that can take time and negotiation with network facilitators.

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Network participants also note that two types of public sector representatives participate in network activities: political representatives and technical representatives. Each brings a different set of resources. Political representatives, for example, bring the authority of their agencies. These people are often able to speak on behalf of their agencies and provide important political analyses about the feasibility of network recommendations or the best approaches to network actions. However, even political representatives who are highly invested in the subject of girls' education have limited time to spend in monthly meetings and committee work. In contrast, technical representatives often do not bring the political clout of their agencies, but they tend to have more time and expertise to engage in the substance of network activities. The best scenario is for public sector agencies to have both technical and political representatives involved in girls' education networks to complement each other and maximize agency involvement in network activities.

Bilateral and multilateral organizations such as USAID and UNICEF also play an important role in Florecer and the regional girls' education networks in Peru. These organizations provide not only financial resources to support girls' education initiatives but also numerous other resources. Examples include broad perspectives about the role of issues such as girls' education in the context of other development activities in Peru, technical expertise in development issues, access to potential advocates for girls' education who might not otherwise be involved in network activities, and credibility about the importance of girls' education. USAID is the sponsor of the New Horizons project, UNICEF administers most of the activities in the Ayacucho pilot project, and both organizations participate in Florecer's technical steering committee and have been instrumental to the success of network efforts.

NGOs and research organizations constitute the other important constituents in national and regional network activities. Examples at the national level include CARE/Peru, Save the Children/United Kingdom, the National Network for the Promotion of Women, and the Institute for Peruvian Studies. These organizations bring experience, research skills, and substantive expertise to the discussions about girls' education. NGOs and research organizations have been particularly important in the development of network publications and action agendas.

National and regional networks also include representatives from businesses and the media, but, as described previously, it is more difficult to engage these participants in ongoing network meetings. The current plan is to develop more specialized ways for these types of representatives to become involved in network activities. This strategy would shift the focus away from activities for which these participants have little time or substantive contributions and into targeted activities that can make the most of people's expertise and interests. Interested businesses and media participants would still be welcome to continue participating in regular meetings, but they would be able to make the choice.

One set of stakeholders that has perhaps been underused at the national and regional levels is the religious sector. The Catholic Church in Peru as well as evangelical groups could make numerous contributions to network activities. Religious organizations, for example, have long histories of work in social services. Networks could use this insight in developing their own activities. Networks could also use the vast local infrastructure of religious officials, social workers, and missionaries throughout Peru to disseminate information about the importance of girls' education. Religious leaders could also serve as liaisons for local projects to support girls' education. Work sponsored by or facilitated through religious organizations could add credibility to efforts to convince people to support girls' education. Florecer does have some linkages to the religious community. One of its members is a Catholic priest who is the headmaster at a boy's preparatory school, and it has involved religious advocacy organizations such as Fe y Alegría in national conferences. Given an extensive agenda and limited resources, however, Florecer has not made outreach to the religious community a central priority.

Local girls' education committees are structured somewhat differently from the national or regional networks. Teachers, school administrators, local government officials, and parents tend to be the primary participants in local activities. These interactions are particularly important because these are the people who can have the greatest impact on improving girls' education.

Expanding the Base of Girls' Education Advocates

National networks, regional networks, and local committees have been excellent mechanisms for building core constituencies in support of girls' education in Peru, but they also have limitations. At some point, a large, active network becomes unwieldy and difficult to manage. A network may also lose some of its clout and the interest of educational stakeholders who are in the best positions to effect systemic changes on behalf of girls' education. Time and geographical constraints also make it impractical for all potential advocates to become involved in network activities.

To institutionalize improvements for girls' education, however, networks need to consider other ways to involve broader groups of advocates for girls' education in the change process. Florecer and the regional girls' education networks have achieved this goal by disseminating publications, organizing national and regional conferences, and encouraging personal communications among network participants and project staff.

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Florecer and regional networks used publications such as *Open Agenda for the Education of Rural Girls, I Want to Take the Floor, Contributions of Florecer to the Board of Educational Inquiry*, and *First Discussion and Exchange of Experiences on Girls' Education in Rural Areas of Ayacucho* as resources to educate people about the problems associated with girls' education in Peru. Reports were disseminated strategically to members of Congress, government officials, and participants at national and regional conferences.

Conferences then became an opportunity to bring together girls' education advocates and potential advocates to reflect on the problems associated with girls' education, develop a large-scale group consensus on recommendations to ameliorate those problems, and assign people responsibilities to act on behalf of girls' education in their own communities. Conferences became an essential tool for expanding ownership for the girls' education agenda and solidifying commitments through action steps. That numerous participants in the First National Conference returned to their departments to start regional girls' education networks indicates that the conference was effective in expanding the girls' education constituency. In addition, the fact that participants in the Second National Conference witnessed their recommendations be incorporated into the draft law for rural girls' education adds credibility to the notion that the national network values the input from its expanded constituencies, that personal involvement in girls' education can make a difference, and that the national movement on behalf of girls' education is action-oriented.

Conferences also became a vehicle to focus media attention on girls' education and to disseminate information about network activities to a wide audience in Peru. The large number of participants and the credentials of leaders who participated in the events raised the general credibility of rural girls' education as a topic that was worthy of national attention. These events brought together important government officials and business leaders as well as teachers, parents, and girls—people who were truly representative of the constituencies that could affect or be affected by policy changes in girls' education. The high quality of the conferences and the continuation of conferences over three years have helped create an identity for Florecer and maintain the momentum of the girls' education movement.

The other strategy that has been employed to expand girls' education constituencies is the tireless outreach of New Horizons staff at the national and regional levels. Interviews indicate that many people have been drawn into the girls' education movement through phone calls, proposals, and meetings with project staff. This is particularly true of business and media partners, who have made financial contributions and committed their time to work on special projects after ongoing conversations. Many community leaders in mountain villages also said that they became convinced about the importance of girls' education after extensive conversations with project staff, many of which continued into the night and weekends.

Building General Constituencies in Support of Girls' Education

Ultimately, the success of New Horizons, Florecer, regional networks, and local committees in improving girls' education in Peru depends on the expansion of constituencies even further to include teachers, parents, and the general public. Increasing support for girls' education among the general public, for example, would increase pressure on Ministry officials to implement laws and regulations and monitor improvements in girls' education. Teachers play an important role in supporting increasing equity in the classroom, and parents play an important role in enabling their daughters to attend school and pressuring schools to improve the school environment and teaching practices to be more supportive of girls' education.

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Project efforts are now being directed at this level of constituency building. The television and radio advertising campaigns introduced many people in the general population to the problems of girls' education, and the pilot project in Ayacucho communities and local girls' education committees around the country have begun to work with teachers and parents to improve girls' schooling. Local initiatives have been important constituency-building activities for two reasons. First, advocates have actually been getting teachers, families, and community members in a small number of places involved in activities to increase support for girls' schooling. Second, these advocates are developing and testing models that will be useful in the future for expanding constituency-building efforts to other rural communities

Realigning and Mobilizing Resources in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 3)

Financial and human resources are the two types of resources that have been mobilized to improve girls' education in Peru. New Horizons, Florecer, and regional networks have been successful in acquiring both kinds of resources in support of the project, at least in the short run. In addition to underlying financial support provided by USAID, project staff have successfully solicited contributions from such private firms as Procter and Gamble, Credit Bank, BellSouth, Repsol, and Faber Castell to fund national conferences. Juarez and Associates is conducting an analysis to determine the amount of money and in-kind resources that private sector organizations have contributed to girls' education in Peru over the past three and a half years.

It is unclear, however, the extent to which public sector, private sector, or NGO partners will make financial resources available in the long run to sustain the administrative infrastructure of the girls' education movement in Peru. USAID granted New Horizons a six-month no-cost extension to pursue the law on rural girls' education, and the UNICEF Open Doors project—which is also

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sponsored by USAID—is funding the Ayacucho pilot project for the same period of time. No other large-scale financial commitments, though, have been made to girls' education projects. Girls' education advocates hope that the new law on rural girls' education will bring administrative resources to the girls' education movement through the creation of a National Council of Girls' Education in Rural Areas.

Equally important for the girls' education movement in Peru has been the cultivation of human resources, which have been accumulated through the constituency-building activities that were discussed in regard to Task 2:

- Dissemination of publications
- Sponsorship and administration of ongoing network meetings
- Organization of regional and national conferences
- Development of television and radio publicity campaigns
- Use of personal outreach

By facilitating people's participation in regular network meetings and conferences and engaging people in research and publicity campaigns, the girls' education movement has cultivated a cadre of inspired and informed advocates in Lima and around Peru to work on behalf of girls' education. These activities have enabled constituencies to take ownership of the *process* of improving girls' education in addition to the concept, thereby accumulating human resource potential that can be mobilized in a specific way on behalf of girls' education—for example, advocacy for Congress to ratify the law for rural girls' education.

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It is extremely difficult, however, to measure an increase in people's willingness to work on an issue, either in the short run or the long run. Perhaps the best indicator of human resource accumulation is concrete action, which is the subject of Task 5.

Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 4)

Within the CFAC tasks, one way to determine the success of a policy change effort is to examine the extent to which structures are created or modified as a result of the mobilization of resources. There are two concrete ways to examine changes in organizational design. First, change can be an internal or an

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external phenomenon: It may include changes in the structures of organizations that have been mobilized to support girls' education as well as the creation of new structures to support girls' education. Second, change can be at different levels, from changes in individual organizations to changes in homes, classrooms, schools, and communities, to changes in local, regional, and national policy regimes.

It is unclear whether girls' education activities over the past few years in Peru have had a major impact on the structures of participating organizations. Organizations that participate actively in national and regional network activities were previously sympathetic to issues related to basic or girls' education and have not transformed their underlying missions or basic policies as a result of activities related to girls' education.

In contrast, the number of organizations that have been created to support and advocate on behalf of girls' education has substantially increased. One excellent example is Florecer. This national network for girls' education was established as a direct result of the New Horizons project, and the organizations and people that make up this network have taken the leadership role in the national girls' education movement in Peru over the past three and a half years. Now that the decision has been made for the National Network for the Promotion of Women to take administrative responsibility for Florecer over the next year, the immediate future of Florecer is taking shape. It will be important for the National Network for the Promotion of Women to receive substantial support from other partners, however, for the national effort to continue.

In contrast, the number of organizations that have been created to support and advocate on behalf of girls' education has substantially increased.

Community-wide girls' education committees, local committees, regional networks, and a national network have all been established as a direct or an indirect result of the New Horizons project. Many of these organizations have strong constituent backing and clear action plans that extend well beyond the life of the project. These organizations have then had an effect on changing other organizational structures, namely, public sector practices at the local, provincial, and regional levels. Examples include the following:

- The NGO in San Martín that hosts the Department's network that represents municipal governments (and hosts the regional girls' education network) is working with its mayors to make girls' education a priority in their communities throughout the department.
- Ayacucho communities with the girls' education pilot project are working with local Ministry of Education officials to improve the general quality of bilingual and intercultural education in the provinces of Huanta (which contains the district of Huanta) and La Mar (which contains the district of Tambo).

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- New Horizons staff and the Ayacucho network have worked with regional Ministry of Education officials to develop a five-year strategic plan to improve girls' education in the Department.

As a result of recommendations from the Second National Conference and the subsequent work of New Horizons and Florecer, girls' education advocates in Peru also have an opportunity to effect change in national-level policy structures. Ratification of the new law for rural girls' eduction, however, is only the first step in national-level educational reform.

Girls' education activities have also changed family, school, and community structures. Anecdotal information from Ayacucho pilot communities, for example, indicates that most parents are now sending all their school-aged children to school. The combination of girls' education committees, enhanced bilingual and intercultural education programs, self-esteem programs, girls' education promoters, adult literacy workshops, and parent schools have made parents more knowledgeable about the value of school and more supportive of their daughters' completing primary education. Professional development activities for teachers in bilingual and intercultural education and self-esteem activities have also made teachers more aware of ways to support girls in their classrooms and have helped change the dynamic of student-teacher interaction. Finally, the creation of girls' education committees and their reports of student and teacher attendance at community meetings have made school attendance an ongoing topic of discussion and a priority in rural pilot areas.

Mobilizing Action in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 5)

A basic assumption of the Girls and Women's Education Activity is that project offices in each country facilitate change on behalf of girls' education instead of being the direct change agents. Projects are supposed to assist other organizations, produce tools, and mobilize leaders and communities to improve girls' education rather than provide extensive funding or be extensively involved in program implementation. This model clearly places the responsibility on country coordinators and project staff to creatively leverage resources.

The New Horizons project has been quite successful in achieving that goal. It has worked to build active constituencies, assist those constituencies in developing their agendas, and support those constituencies in their realization of short-term and long-term goals. Specifically, New Horizons has facilitated the creation of Florecer and the Ayacucho network and currently provides much of the administrative infrastructure for those networks. Staff have also been responsible for facilitating communication among the national network, regional networks, and girls' education advocates throughout the country. Under the auspices of these groups it has been possible to host conferences;

produce reports; develop national, regional, and local action plans; create a television and radio advertising campaign; and draft and advocate for a national law on rural girls' education.

In Ayacucho, New Horizons was heavily involved in sponsoring data collection efforts such as the situational analysis, rapid rural appraisal, and baseline study of girls' education, and project staff established contacts with community leaders early in the development of the pilot project. However, most of the actual work in pilot communities is being conducted through UNICEF's Open Doors project. The one pilot project that is formally sponsored by New Horizons, Girls' Education Support Committees, is designed to mobilize community volunteers to monitor school attendance and to work with parents and provincial Ministry of Education officials to ensure that children and teachers are attending school. This project, which completely depends on community mobilization for its success, is one of the main reasons that community leaders say that girls are now staying in school. Preliminary statistics from 1998–2000 do not indicate overall gains in girls' enrollment and completion rates in pilot communities; however, these statistics do not reflect the period in which the bilingual and self-esteem activities were in full operation.

Monitoring the Progress of Systemic Change (Task 6)

The last dimension of the analytical framework is to document policy changes and their effects on systemic reform. This dimension is important for two reasons. First, effective monitoring systems provide formative information to guide future actions (i.e., mobilize resources and design and modify organizational structures) in support of a policy goal. Second, if an initiative has been successful in achieving its policy objectives, an effective monitoring system provides information to increase legitimacy, build constituencies, and accumulate resources. Effective monitoring provides an important feedback mechanism for all the other dimensions of the change process.

Over the course of the project, New Horizons and its partners invested in a variety of monitoring activities at the national and local levels. In November 2000, for example, New Horizons commissioned Juan Pablo Silva to collect and analyze data related to GEA targets for intermediate results. Silva's report indicates that New Horizons has exceeded most targets to date. At the local level, New Horizons also sponsored the baseline study of girls' education in the Ayacucho pilot communities. This study was used primarily as the basis for developing the pilot project rather than as actual baseline data in a longitudinal study. The one evaluation that was conducted of the Ayacucho pilot project, in December 2000, was also used for formative purposes.

Some data-monitoring opportunities have been lost over the past three and a half years. For example, following up on the baseline study of girls' education in the Ayacucho pilot communities would have supplied information on the impact of pilot activities, particularly the separate benefits of the individual activities: the bilingual and intercultural education activity, the self-esteem activity, girls' education committees, community education promoters, adult literacy, and parent schools. It would have also been informative to conduct an evaluation of the television and radio advertisement campaigns to determine to what extent these efforts improved the public's understanding of the problems associated with girls' education in Peru.

Of course, decisions about how monitoring and evaluation take place have to be made in the context of overall project efforts. These activities can be quite expensive and time-consuming and are often perceived as lower priorities compared with direct services. To achieve project goals when resources are limited, trade-offs are always necessary. USAID officials who were eager to see the results of the Ayacucho pilot project, for example, understood the difficulty of developing appropriate activities to monitor the treatment of girls in school in such remote villages. In addition, Ana María Robles did not think that it was appropriate to evaluate the television and radio campaigns, given the limited expected impact of what she perceived as a small initiative.

Nevertheless, more attention should be given to monitoring future girls' education initiatives in Peru. This is particularly important now that the Peruvian Congress has ratified the law on rural girls' education. Congresswoman Helfer and members of Florecer are cautious about the ability of the law to improve rural girls' education in and of itself. They argue that it will be very important for groups such as Florecer to monitor its implementation to ensure that appropriate changes are taking place at the ministerial, department, community, and school levels.

Section IV: Systemic Change for Girls' Education in GEA Countries

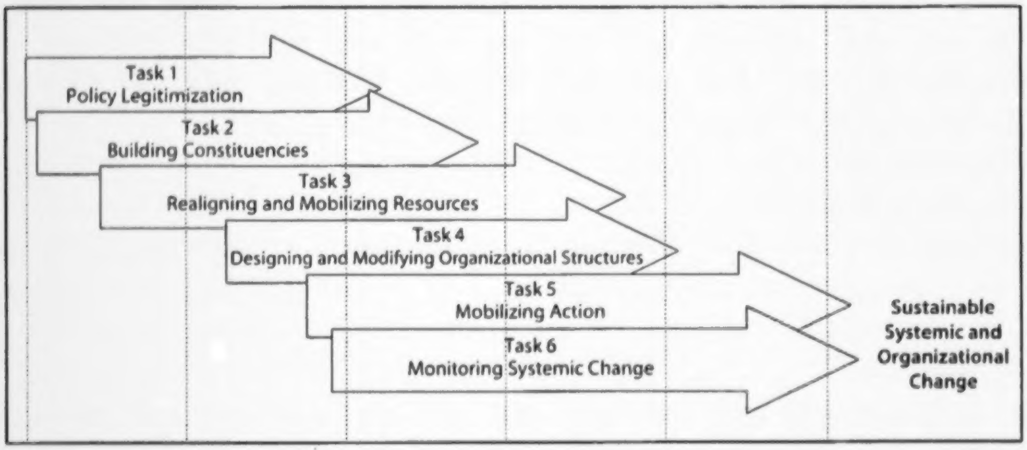
The ultimate question for the Girls' Education Activity is the extent to which actions taken on behalf of girls' education have led to changes at the local, regional, and national levels as well as the extent to which accumulated policy and organizational changes have led to lasting systematic changes in GEA countries in terms of improved girls' access to and retention in primary education. This section reviews how successful Guatemala, Morocco, and Peru have been in promoting systemic change for girls' education and synthesizes this experience into a set of observations on success factors in implementing girls' education reform.

SYSTEMIC CHANGE FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION IN GEA COUNTRIES

The Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Change has been used throughout this report (1) to focus attention on actions that can effect lasting systemic change, distinguishing them from actions that are essentially discrete initiatives *(as discussed in Section II)* and (2) to provide a means to qualitatively describe the degree of progress or success achieved toward effecting systemic change in each country. The CFAC represents the process of implementing systemic change. Therefore, its tasks do not merely form a checklist of what needs to be accomplished; rather, they are benchmarks that allow the observer to assess whether a project has prepared the ground for later tasks along a continuum toward sustainable change *(See Figure 6; for more on this, refer to Section II)*. The CFAC outlines what is essentially a sequential and incremental process. This does not mean that a reform program cannot or should not initiate actions under all six tasks simultaneously, but it does imply that sufficient success must be met within each task to achieve lasting progress in the next. Depending on the extent of the desired reform, this sequence could involve a 5- to 20-year process.

A reform program, such as GEA, needs to establish the legitimacy of its change agenda in concert with developing and enlarging a constituency, which in turn will foster agreement on the reform and move implementation forward. In this regard, Task 2, building constituencies, requires success in Task 1. In the process of building constituencies (Task 2), reform facilitators will need to help stakeholders address issues of the resources (Task 3) and the organizational structures (Task 4)

Figure 6.–CFAC: Continuum of Incremental Change Leading to New Systems of Behavior


Task 1
Policy Legitimization
Task 2
Building Constituencies
Task 3
Realigning and Mobilizing Resources
Task 4
Designing and Modifying Organizational Structures
Task 5
Mobilizing Action
Task 6
Monitoring Systemic Change
Sustainable Systemic and Organizational Change

needed for implementation (Task 5). Lining up resources and supportive structures does not always mean that specific actions will result. Therefore, Tasks 5 and 6 need to focus on making sure that the actions take place and on monitoring the results to make sure that the right things have been affected and that negative unintended consequences are minimized.

The discussion below uses the CFAC as a tool for examining the overall status of a project and its overall progress or success in effecting systemic change in each GEA country. Although this is not a scientific instrument, it does represent our assessment of where each GEA country falls on the CFAC continuum and the relative current status of girls' education reform. It is important that the overall assessment of success in each country *not* be construed as a comparison of success among the three GEA programs being analyzed. As stated in the Introduction, each country context is so different that any evaluative comparisons would be invalid. In addition to the obvious political, cultural, and environmental differences among the countries, each GEA project's change agenda focused on a unique combination of changes at the national, regional, and community levels *(see Section I - Table 1: Overview of GEA Activities)*. Our interpretation considers the respective GEA successes vis-à-vis their particular change agenda and disaggregates these successes according to the changes consolidated at the national, regional, and community levels.

Systemic Change for Girls' Education in Guatemala

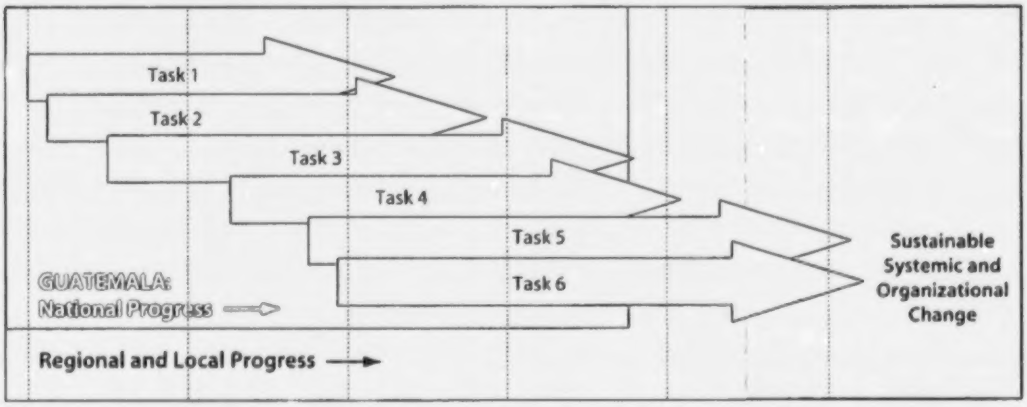
Proyecto Global in Guatemala has had mixed success in implementing the interventions designed to achieve the series of intermediate results established by USAID for the GEA project. The project successfully mobilized regional and local leadership to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.3), broadened local community participation to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.4), and strengthened teacher performance to improve girls' primary school education (EGAT/WID IR 2.5). However, little progress on the national level was made beyond the achievements of the BEST project in strengthening the performance of public and private sector institutions to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.1); improving knowledge to implement policies, strategies, and programs for girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.2); and mobilizing national leadership to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.3). As a result, sustained improvements in enrollment and completion rates for girls in primary school are at best localized in El Quiché. Preliminary information from Juarez and Associates indicates that nationally, Guatemala's average enrollment and completion rates have not substantially improved since the beginning of Proyecto Global. This should not be surprising, however, given that the government of Guatemala asked Proyecto Global to limit its geographic focus early in the project, and the project concentrated its efforts in El Quiché.

Using the CFAC, we can see that Proyecto Global's efforts to effect systemic change were constrained by limited success at early tasks. In brief, our assessment found that Proyecto Global had done the following:

- The project had established the legitimacy of girls' education among some key educational stakeholders at the national, regional, and local levels, but legitimization at the national level was a qualified success, because important educational stakeholders in the national government remained indifferent to the policy of promoting girls' education. Moreover, some national NGOs—such as JICA—did not fully accept Proyecto Global's leadership in promoting girls' education. By contrast, at the regional and local levels, legitimization was very successful.
- The project maintained active constituencies for girls' education created by the BEST project, but had limited success in developing additional constituencies at the national level. However, it did develop additional active constituencies at the regional and local levels.
- The project accumulated financial and human capital resources at all levels but was not able to mobilize all those resources or develop and modify organizational structures at the national level. At the local level, these resources were successfully mobilized and some organizational structures in specific communities and schools were modified.
- The project did not engage in monitoring and evaluation activities to chart the progress of girls' education activities in Guatemala beyond evaluating the scholarship program.

On the CFAC continuum, Proyecto Global's national efforts cannot be said to have progressed further than Task 3, whereas its regional and local efforts can be placed somewhere between Tasks 4 and 5 (see Figure 7).

Figure 7.—CFAC Diagram for Guatemala


Task 1
Task 2
Task 3
Task 4
Task 5
Task 6
GUATEMALA:
National Progress
Regional and Local Progress
Sustainable Systemic and Organizational Change

At the national level, the most promising systemic change will occur if the use of *Sugerencias* becomes institutionalized as part of teacher training in Guatemala. At this point, it is too early to say what will result from the Technical Vice-Minister of Education's requested training for ministry officials at the national and regional levels. By and large, however, at the national level there are substantial institutional obstacles to a policy of promoting girls' education, including the federal government's shift from funding scholarships for indigenous girls to funding scholarships for both at-risk boys and girls; the Ministry of Education's reluctance to appoint persons to hold the offices that were created to promote girls' education and withholding power from those offices when filled; the lack of strong leadership in the private sector to promote girls' education; and, above all, the overwhelming national preoccupation with economic and infrastructural recovery from Guatemala's years of conflict that has kept education issues largely off the national agenda.

At the local level, where Proyecto Global was most successful in mobilizing action in support of girls' education, some degree of mobilization is likely to continue after the project itself ends, especially among teachers who participated in the creation of the *Sugerencias* and in communities that have come to recognize the value of their daughters' education. Such mobilization, however, will probably only be very localized, and most of the momentum achieved in the past three years of community work will most likely dissipate. As such, Proyecto Global's local actions and interventions, although moving in the direction of systemic change, have not been sufficiently generalized to effect any sustainable change.

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Systemic Change for Girls' Education in Morocco

The Girls Education Activity in Morocco successfully implemented interventions designed to achieve the series of intermediate results established by USAID EGAT/WID for the GEA project. It has strengthened the performance of public and private sector institutions to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.1); improved knowledge to implement policies, strategies, and programs for girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.2); mobilized national, regional, and local leadership to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.3); and broadened local community participation to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.4). USAID Morocco data tracking indicates substantial increases in girls' enrollment in the particular areas where the Mission is providing resources either through GEA or its Morocco Education for Girls (MEG) project. This data set is too limited to extrapolate to trends in the general population, although the Ministry of Education claims that considerable progress is being made. It is too early to conclude whether girls' completion rates for primary school have improved substantially.

If GEA Morocco is judged on the success of its particular change agenda at the national and local levels, it is possible to say that substantial progress has been made in each of the six tasks. There is no question that project activities have raised awareness about the problems associated with rural girls' education nationally and within the local pilot areas. GEA has directly affected the level and tenor of national discourse on the issue of girls' education and has been instrumental in consolidating a varied constituency that is actively engaged in advancing reform at all levels. In brief, our assessment found that in Morocco, GEA has accomplished the following:

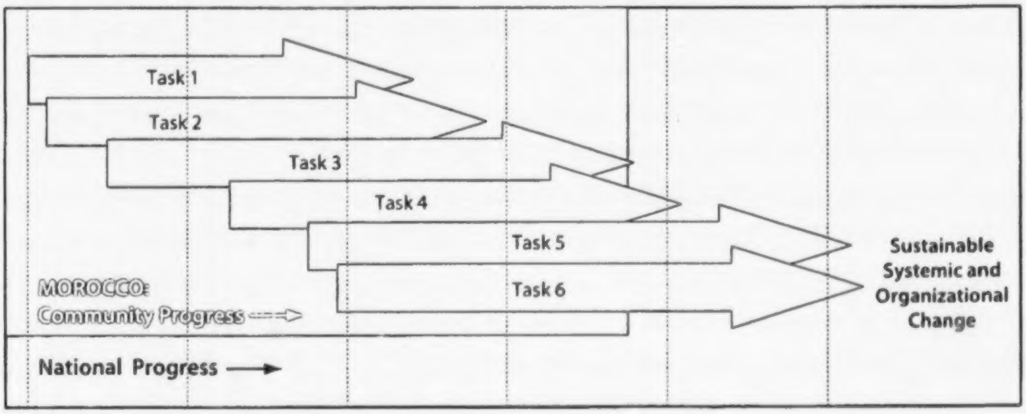
- The project has established the legitimacy of girls' education to key educational stakeholders at the national, regional, and local levels and has established the GEA Morocco project as a legitimate agent in the process of social transformation.
- The project has developed active constituencies for girls' education at the national, regional, and local levels.
- The project has been effective in helping indigenous groups accumulate financial and human capital resources and has been key in developing and modifying multi-sectoral organizational structures in support of girls' education.
- The project has been highly effective in helping groups mobilize for action, acting as a catalyst without creating dependency that will mitigate the constituencies' effectiveness in the future.

- The project has succeeded in initiating monitoring and evaluation activities to chart the progress of the girls' education agenda in Morocco and has worked with several NGOs to develop their ongoing capacity to track their own progress.

On the CFAC continuum, GEA Morocco's success on the national level can be placed somewhere between Tasks 5 and 6. It has mobilized substantial action in support of girls' education and will likely be able to sustain this mobilization after the project itself ends. National networks, which were not in existence in 1996, are now in place and are influential voices and players in supporting girls' education. In addition, they are attracting the interest and support for new players, essentially serving to advance Tasks 1 through 3 through their activities and support. The impact that GEA has had on the national scene, and its implications for the future advancement of girls' education, is truly impressive given the short project time span of five years (see Figure 8).

At the local level, the impact is less far-reaching. Within GEA focus areas, the success is between Tasks 3 and 4. Local constituencies are functioning well, but they will need to further consolidate and expand their capacity and their activities to ensure a lasting impact on local schools and populations. And countless communities still have made no entrée into girls' education advocacy or activities; in many communities, the situation for girls is the same as it was 50 years ago. This observation may be unfair, given that the GEA project was designed as a demonstration project and resources were quite limited. However, the question remains about how girls' education advocates in Morocco can capitalize on the tremendous changes effected on the national level and translate them to sustainable broad-based initiatives through the country. What is hopeful about this daunting challenge is that

Figure 8.– CFAC Diagram for Morocco


Task 1
Task 2
Task 3
Task 4
Task 5
Task 6
Sustainable Systemic and Organizational Change
MOROCCO: Community Progress
National Progress

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GEA has left in place a dynamic system of constituent organizations and successful practices that might indeed be able to catalyze and disseminate numerous activities throughout the country to support girls' education.

Systemic Change for Girls' Education in Peru

The New Horizons project in Peru has successfully implemented interventions designed to achieve the series of intermediate results established by USAID for the GEA project. It has strengthened the performance of public and private sector institutions to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.1); improved knowledge to implement policies, strategies, and programs for girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.2); mobilized national, regional, and local leadership to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.3); broadened local community participation to promote girls' education (EGAT/WID IR 2.4); and strengthened teacher performance to improve girls' primary school education (EGAT/WID IR 2.5). Whether these interventions have achieved the aims of sustained improvements in enrollment and completion rates for girls in primary school is too early to say. Preliminary information from Juarez and Associates indicates that Peru has made measurable progress in these national goals since the beginning of the New Horizons project.

According to the CFAC, New Horizons Peru has made substantial progress in each of the six tasks. It has raised awareness about the problems associated with rural girls' education and has raised the issue to the level of national discourse. In brief, our assessment found that New Horizons has done the following:

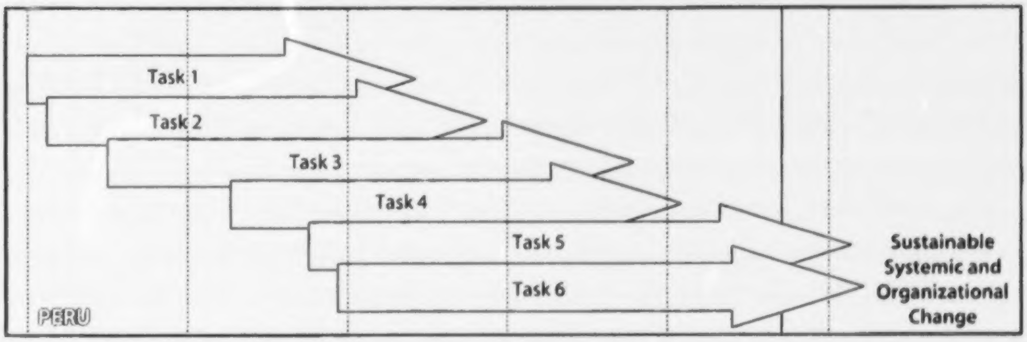
- The project has established the legitimacy of girls' education with key educational stakeholders at the national, regional, and local levels and has established the existence of the New Horizons project and Florecer as legitimate agents in the process of social transformation.
- The project has developed active constituencies for girls' education at the national, regional, and local levels.
- The project has accumulated financial and human capital resources and has mobilized those resources effectively to develop and modify organizational structures to be more supportive of girls' education.
- The project has engaged in some monitoring and evaluation activities to chart the progress of girls' education activities in Peru.

On the CFAC continuum, New Horizons can be placed somewhere between Tasks 5 and 6. It has mobilized substantial action in support of girls' education and will likely be able to sustain such mobilization after the project itself ends. In addition, local girls' education committees in pilot communities have done an excellent job of monitoring children's and teachers' school attendance, but similar monitoring systems are not yet institutionalized at the regional and national levels. National and regional networks will have to work to ensure that appropriate mechanisms will be in place to monitor girls' enrollment and completion rates in rural areas as well as the quality of educational opportunities for girls. They will also have to establish strategies to monitor the implementation of the new law for rural girls' education (see Figure 9).

Other social issues obviously share the national spotlight with girls' education in Peru, and many of them will take some of the national and regional focus away from girls' education in the future, but there is very little resistance to the idea that rural girls' education is an important issue to resolve. We predict that regional and national advocacy will remain robust. Recent interviews, for example, indicate that the Ayacucho Network for Rural Girls' Education will remain strong in the future. Partners have developed a detailed sustainability plan that delineates specific actions and responsibilities, and they have developed strong, long-term relationships with departmental Ministry of Education officials as well as with local communities. Partners have also clearly seen that involvement in the network has benefits for their organizations: Sharing information on a regular basis and interacting regularly with partners from other sectors facilitates their organizations' work outside the network and therefore provides additional justification for continuing their participation in network activities.

We are similarly optimistic about continuing advocacy on behalf of rural girls' education at the national level. Government, business, and NGO stakeholders have proven their active commitment to girls' education over the past three and a half years. In addition, partners have begun to take concrete steps to fortify the national movement by maintaining Florecer as its organizing body.

Figure 9.— CFAC Diagram for Peru



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FACTORS THAT EFFECTED SYSTEMIC CHANGE IN GEA COUNTRIES

Without question, the most important factors in determining the success of a girls' education project are the people and organizations that take leadership roles. Their hard work and dedication; passion and compassion; flexibility and persistence; ability to convince, motivate, and listen to others; and ability to inspire action and take advantage of opportunities all have an effect on a project's ability to create and advance a girls' education agenda. Similarly, the backing of a strong and supportive organizational structure can provide the logistical support, credibility, and outreach necessary to help girls' education projects succeed. However, the best staff and organizations can be helped or hindered in facilitating the change process by the context in which it is working. On the basis of the overall experience of the three GEA countries over the past five years, we have identified three key factors that affected the project's ability to influence systematic change on behalf of girls' education:

- *Tailoring the Approach to the Political Context:* The extent to which the project is able to develop an effective means for mobilizing civil society, consistent with the country's current political climate and state of democratization
- *Linking Change at the Local, Regional, and National Levels:* The extent to which the project is able to work simultaneously at local, regional, and national levels and to use each to reinforce change at the other two levels
- *Maximizing In-Country Control Over Project Activities:* The extent to which the project effectively manages to reconcile the objectives of different stakeholders in ways that give primacy to the views of those most directly affected

Political Context

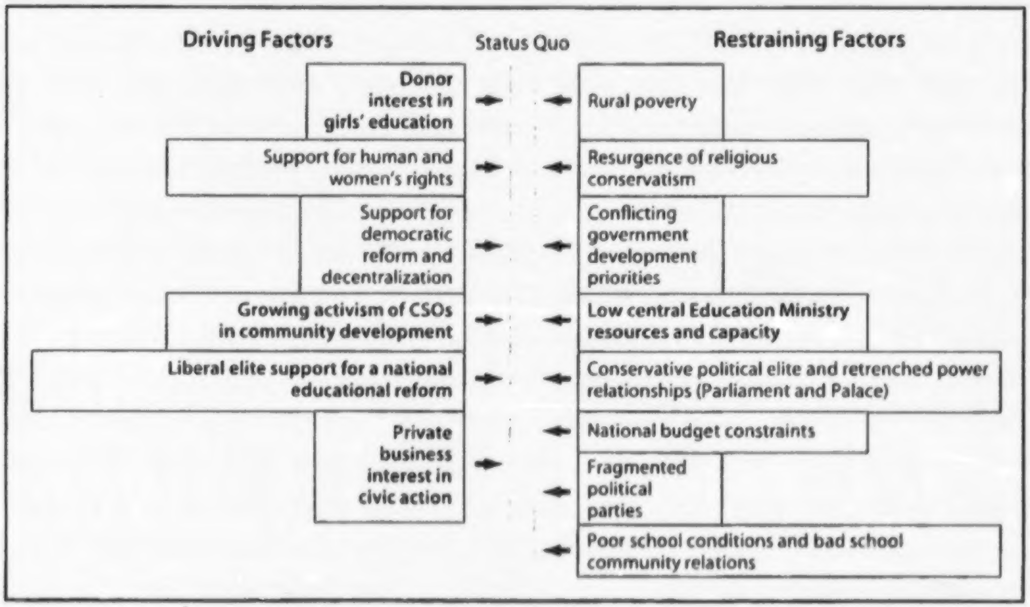
Some political contexts are clearly easier to work in than others, especially on an issue such as girls' education. In particular, the political climate for participation; the existence or willingness to create suitable civil society organizations; the protections afforded to free speech and right of assembly; the receptivity of executive and legislative branch leaders to engage in policy discourse with civil society actors; the extent of empowerment of women and women's groups; and other related issues dictate what is possible and what is likely to be effective.

The three cases suggest, however, that progress is possible in a variety of political contexts. The conditions presented specific opportunities as well as firmly closed doors for change. An essential challenge in developing each country's strategy was an assessment of the conditions—the forces that needed to be tapped to advance girls' education and those forces that restrained reform. Such a Force Field Analysis is valuable for discovering which of the motivating or restraining forces at play could possibly be reinforced or mitigated to advance the status quo in favor of a girls' education agenda.

The Force Field Analysis presented below is drawn from the project's work in Morocco and illustrates how factors in the political context influence the design and ultimately the success of the project's strategies for effecting systemic change. In Figure 10, the relative length of each force represents the approximate degree of influence (high, medium, or low) that each factor had in maintaining the status quo of girls' education in the country. We have marked in bold those factors that ended up being particular objects of GEA interventions, either to strengthen the motivating factors or mitigate the restraining ones.

In contrast with countries such as Guatemala, the girls' education effort in Morocco benefited considerably from the existence of a liberal elite that was vocal in its support for national education reform and a growing and emerging activism in support of community development and human and women's rights. Reinforcing these factors, and directly addressing the restraining factors of poor school conditions and equally poor school-community relations, formed the foundation for what was ultimately an effective strategy to win support for expanded girls' education opportunities. In contrast, coming out of 35 years of internal strife and a climate of intense suspicion existing between national leaders and indigenous groups, Guatemala was forced to adopt a very different strategy that emphasized tangible products (*Sugerencias* manuals) and minimized advocacy activities.

Figure 10.–Force Field Analysis of Conditions for Girls' Education Reform in Morocco, Circa 1996


Driving Factors
Status Quo
Restraining Factors
Donor interest in girls' education
Rural poverty
Support for human and women's rights
Resurgence of religious conservatism
Support for democratic reform and decentralization
Conflicting government development priorities
Growing activism of CSOs in community development
Low central Education Ministry resources and capacity
Liberal elite support for a national educational reform
Conservative political elite and retrenched power relationships (Parliament and Palace)
Private business interest in civic action
National budget constraints
Fragmented political parties
Poor school conditions and bad school community relations

The enabling environment for changes in policies and procedures includes economic, social, historical, and cultural dimensions as well as political ones. Two insights from the GEA experience, however, are that these other dimensions both affect and are affected by a country's political context and that girls' education is an extremely political issue. The GEA experience thus suggests that strategies to promote girls' education need to be sensitively tailored to the political context in which they operate.

Linkages

One of the assumptions of the GEA model was that projects would work at a variety of levels to improve girls' education in target countries. Specifically, it was assumed that projects needed to engage leaders at the national, regional, and local levels to reform policies (EGAT/WID IR 2.3) and, at the same time, mobilize communities (EGAT/WID IR 2.4) to change practices and become more supportive of girls' education. Such parallel goals raise the question of whether project resources need to be efficiently and sufficiently allocated among these levels to achieve the most wide-reaching, systemic gains for girls' education.

We can posit that an exclusive focus on leaders might enable projects to affect discourse on educational policy at the community, regional, or national levels, but it is unlikely that such discourse would be informed by local circumstances or have a meaningful effect on local practices. In contrast, an exclusive focus on communities might increase local support for girls' education in specific communities, but it does not necessarily create opportunities for scaling projects up or effecting systemic reform on the country level. Therefore, projects designed to catalyze local action need to strike a balance between focusing attention on leaders and communities. They need to strike a similar balance in focusing on changes at the community, regional, and national levels. Each GEA country negotiated this balance in different ways with different consequences.

Guatemala, for example, had developed an active national network in support of girls' education—the AEN—prior to the start of GEA. USAID/Guatemala therefore asked the GEA Country Coordinator to focus her efforts on bilingual education at the regional level. The Mission was particularly interested in having the project work in the Department of El Quiché, one of the most rural departments in Guatemala and one with relatively large numbers of indigenous people with low completion rates for girls in primary school. GEA/Guatemala therefore began with a strong regional and local focus and a more limited focus at the national level.

These priorities had a clear impact on the evolution of project activities in Guatemala. GEA staff provided extensive technical assistance to 17 communities in El Quiché, helping them conduct situational analyses and sensitizing workshops and develop community action plans to promote girls' education. At a regional level, staff worked with teachers from across El Quiché to develop the

Sugerencias (teachers' manuals) and with a media consultant to develop multilingual and multicultural social communications materials. At the national level, project staff worked with the AEN and hosted a variety of national conferences, but the work that was taking place at the regional and community levels had little effect on the national girls' education agenda. The one striking exception is the current interest of the Ministry of Education in the *Sugerencias*. The Technical Vice-Minister of Education is requiring central and regional Ministry staff to be trained in the use of the manual, and USAID has agreed to fund the reproduction of 10,000 copies for wide distribution. It is too early to determine to what extent teachers will use these manuals on a broad scale in Guatemala.

The Technical Vice-Minister of Education is requiring central and regional Ministry staff to be trained in the use of the [Sugerencias] manual, and USAID has agreed to fund the reproduction of 10,000 copies for wide distribution.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of GEA in Morocco, project staff made an extensive effort to work on the national and local levels; they were also committed to working with communities as well as with leaders to improve girls' education. Within months of the project's inception, for example, staff established methods and strategies for collecting information about the status of girls' education at the local and national levels. They also developed a constituency database of potential partners from multiple sectors around the country.

At the national level, staff pursued a variety of other activities to increase awareness of and support for girls' education in Morocco. Staff provided technical assistance to improve the capacity of NGOs that support girls' education; they created a media task force, an NGO forum, and a high-level girls' education support committee; and they hosted a variety of highly visible conferences, including an NGO conference on girls' education, a private sector conference titled Enterprise and Education, and a conference titled Civil Society in the Reform of Education. These events, coupled with the national spotlight on girls' education as a consequence of two annual caftan fashion shows, had a tremendous effect on national-level discourse regarding the overall importance of girls' education. This discourse, and the presence of GEA-affiliated NGO and opinion leaders, appointed to the Royal Commission on Educational Reform, exerted more than a little influence on the National Charter for Educational Reform, ratified by Parliament in 1999. The Charter mandates equal rights and access to education for boys and girls at all levels in urban and rural Morocco.

The presence of GEA-affiliated NGO and opinion leaders, appointed to the Royal Commission on Educational Reform, exerted more than a little influence on the Educational Reform Charter, ratified by Parliament in 1999. The Charter mandates equal rights and access to education for boys and girls at all levels in urban and rural Morocco.

GEA staff also facilitated a comprehensive set of activities at the local level over the course of the project. Through Al Jisr, for example, the project supported the decentralization of school improve-

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ment though local school support communities that include representatives of communities, businesses, school directors, parents, and teachers. In addition, the girls' scholarship demonstration project was conducted in collaboration with local NGOs and business partners throughout Morocco. The project also supported regional and local NGOs that were implementing major physical infrastructure projects to support girls' education. Responsibility for these activities, however, shifted to the Morocco Education for Girls project, also sponsored by USAID, so that GEA could focus on its national activities.

The fact that GEA/Morocco was able to work successfully at the local and national levels and develop excellent working relations with leaders and communities alike meant that it was possible to foster systemic change in important ways. The experiences of local partners provided important information to help leaders at the national and regional levels shape the girls' education agenda. For example, local GEA communities helped national leaders learn that one of the greatest impediments to girls' schooling is the perception among parents that primary education for girls in itself is not important without access to secondary school credentials. This information then enabled national-level partners to work together to create the girls' scholarship program that enabled girls to board near urban secondary schools, since there are virtually no secondary schools in rural areas. Once the design of the scholarship program was in place, the administration of the program shifted to partners in local communities.

GEA communities helped national leaders learn that one of the greatest impediments to girls' schooling is the perception among parents that primary education for girls in itself is not important without access to secondary school credentials.

The GEA/Peru project is another excellent example of careful project planning at the local, regional, and national levels. It is also a good example of how to create a productive balance between work with leaders and communities. Like GEA/Morocco, GEA/Peru generated an extensive number of activities at the national and local levels. It was also able to inspire action at the regional level. At the national level, the national network sponsored a country-level situational analysis (*The Open Agenda*), radio and television spots about the importance of girls' education, national conferences and meetings, and the development of a law on the rights of rural girls' to education. At the regional level, the national network inspired regional networks, one that received extensive support from the GEA project and three that were largely self-supporting. Regional networks then worked closely with local communities to develop girls' education awareness campaigns and action plans. In addition, 19 communities in the Department of Ayacucho hosted an array of small-scale projects to demonstrate the possibilities and the methods of improving girls' access to and persistence in primary school.

In most instances, the relationships among levels and between leaders and communities that were involved in the project were mutually reinforcing. For instance, the regional girls' education network

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in Ayacucho held a series of meetings with local communities to learn about the barriers to girls' education. The regional network then summarized these experiences in a document and shared this information at the Second National Conference on the Education of Rural Girls—information that fed directly into the development of the draft law on rural girls' education that was ultimately enacted by the Peruvian Congress.

Unfortunately, fostering close collaboration among partners at multiple levels can lead to potential problems as well. For example, there was some consternation among members of one regional girls' education network in Peru, who felt that the national network was making too many decisions about regional technical assistance activities without receiving enough input from regional partners. Close collaboration among levels can also make people more sensitive to decisions about resource allocation. Members of the same regional network, for example, were frustrated about the disproportional national support for another regional network because they believed that girls' education experienced similar problems in all rural parts of the country.

Like the projects in the other two GEA countries, GEA/Peru also faces the challenge of turning actions and local policies into systemic change at the country level. Interviews suggest that the pilot project in Ayacucho communities has had a positive effect on increasing girls' enrollment and completion rates in primary school. The challenge is how to turn these actions, which have fostered policy changes at the community level, into systemic change for girls' throughout Peru. In many instances, GEA partners have taken an important next step. They have been educating Ministry of Education officials at the district, province, and department levels about their activities, and they have been working with these officials to develop and implement long-term action plans for girls' education. Much work is yet to be done, however, before local actions can effect systemic change at the country level.

The experiences of the three GEA countries demonstrate that working on multiple levels is essential for creating systemic change for girls' education at large in a given country and that a dialectic process between the local and the national levels is necessary to achieve the following goals:

1. Identify specific, local impediments to girls' schooling.
2. Develop appropriate community-based solutions.
3. Build community-level and national constituencies for the interventions.
4. Implement the interventions.
5. Develop a mechanism to monitor and evaluate progress.

Further interaction between local and national partners in this chain occurs when a pilot or demonstration project is ready for scaling up, where actions and individual-level policies begin to effect change at the system level. Even under the best circumstances, effecting change at the system level is a daunting and arduous process. At the very least, it requires excellent communication and coordination among stakeholders at the local, regional, and national levels.

In-Country Control

A key assumption at the heart of the GEA model was that the projects would serve as catalysts for change, not as agents of change. The reason goes back to the aim of sustainable change: Experience has shown that changes are rarely sustained when they are imposed from the outside, but they are likely to command continued support when they are selected and implemented by stakeholders within the system. To provide facilitating support for in-country initiatives that promote girls' education is a tangible and clear mission for project staff. It is not, however, project staff's only objective; they are supposed to achieve the prescribed intermediate results set by the EGAT/WID office and those set by their country's USAID Mission. Therein lies a challenge faced by all GEA offices: resolving the tension between *facilitating* systemic change for girls' education and *directing* the achievement of project goals. On the one hand, the GEA model encourages staff to support in-country educational stakeholders to develop and implement plans for girls' education instead of taking primary responsibility for development and implementation. It encourages leaders from the private and public sectors in countries to craft a girls' education agenda and then take responsibility for the steps necessary for carrying out appropriate activities. On the other hand, USAID has established specific intermediate results that projects were obliged to meet as part of contractual requirements.

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In Guatemala, this tension manifested itself at the very beginning of the project when USAID/Washington wanted the project staff to facilitate teacher training in Guatemala by having the Ministry use teacher training materials prepared by BEST. When the Ministry of Education's DIGEBI found the BEST materials unsuitable to use with rural teachers and sought assistance from Proyecto Global to prepare better materials, the project staff was placed in an irreconcilable situation. The same dynamic reoccurred throughout the life of project in Guatemala, affecting both the allocation of staff time and energy (e.g., expending considerable energy to expand private sector involvement in promoting girls' education to comply with prescribed multi-sectoral goals when the probability of return from the Guatemalan private sector at the time was lower than pursuing other plans) and staff morale (e.g., engendering frustration and cynicism).

In Morocco, the tension between externally developed strategies and locally devised solutions manifested itself in a particularly implausible manner. During the 1997 GEA conference, intended to

169 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

provide national impetus for girls' primary education, action groups developed their own strategies to increase girls' access to primary education. They identified as the key barrier the lack of girls' access to *secondary* education, given the paucity of secondary schools in the rural areas of Morocco. So they devised ways to create housing for girls in urban areas to give rural girls access to secondary education. Since the focus of the GEA project was specifically aimed at increasing girls' access and retention at the *primary* school level, there was a marked absence of enthusiasm for the insights and strategies developed during this important initial GEA conference. Despite the lack of GEA support, CSSF came together as an outgrowth of this conference, with the sole objective of raising funds to provide scholarships for girls in rural areas who were willing to live in boarding houses to attend secondary schools in urban areas. Much to the surprise of those in MSI and EGAT/WID Washington, CSSF was and continues to be successful in providing ongoing support for rural girls to continue their secondary school education. To date, this strategy has raised more than $150,000 and enrolled the support of several thousand individual donors, two national women's magazines, and an annual nationally televised caftan fashion show in support of 140 girls pursuing their secondary education. In an unexpected loop back to the original project objective, and underscoring the importance of not only allowing but also actively supporting locally designed initiatives that may seem off the mark at the outset, this strategy has already increased the number of younger girls enrolling in and continuing primary school education. As families and their communities see the possibility of continuing the education of their girls beyond primary school, sisters and neighbors of the girls now attending secondary school are enrolling and staying in primary school in increasing numbers.

Although it is easy to recognize that tensions about control over project activities affect the success of project staff's efforts, there is no easy solution. Sustainability necessitates giving project staff a free hand to facilitate endogenously directed actions, yet the principles of management and accountability necessitate directing what outcomes need to be achieved. At the very least, however, recognizing this tension should make it possible to (1) clarify priorities for project staff; (2) define project goals in terms of ends rather than means; and (3) review the theory of change that underlies the project's framework, model, and objectives.

A review of the GEA project histories suggests that flexibility in the formulation and revision of Intermediate Results is of utmost importance to maximize efforts, take advantage of opportunities encountered, and minimize staff frustration. Efforts can and should be made to bring Intermediate Results more in consonance with the application of change theory—both at the level of EGAT/WID and at the country Mission level.

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